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A HISTORY

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BY

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श्रीः

PREFACE.

SANSKRIT is the name given to the ancient literary language of India. In it are written the ancient scriptures of the Vedic and the Puranic religion. It occupies the same position within the bounds of the Indian continent, as Latin and Greek do in the Western world. All have been the independent fountain-heads of many later offshoots in the form of vernaculars and all have been the standards for imitation and assimilation. The sciences of Comparative Philology and Mythology owe their origin to what has been termed 'the Discovery of Sanskrit.' The affinity that exists among the various Indo-Aryan languages has greatly helped to unravel the past history of man. "To the Sanskrit, the antiquity and extent of its literary documents, the transparency of its grammatical structure, the comparatively primitive state of its accent-system and thorough grammatical treatment it has early received at the hands of native scholars, must ever secure the foremost place in the comparative study of Indo-Aryan researches."

The history of Sanskrit affords considerable scope for a study of the growth of language. It presents distinct varieties of speech which are linked together exactly as Modern English is with the Anglo-Saxon. The *most ancient form* is that composing the text of the Rig Veda Samihta. Consisting of ten books, it was the work of

different *rishis*, probably of various periods and transmitted y oral tradition in their families. Despite the minute istinctions in the language of the Rik Samhita, we may or all practical purposes treat the Vedic variety of Sanskrit as a compact dialect. Prominently, this dialect presents some peculiarities of form and usage, which we shall sum up below :—

(i) The nominative plural of nouns ending in अ is असस् as well as अस् *as* देवासः or देवाः, the instrumental being देवेभिः or देवैः ;

(ii) The nominative and the vocative dual and plural of nouns in अ not rarely end in आ *as* येनेमा विश्वा च्यवना कृतानि;

(iii) The instrumental singular of feminine nouns in इ is occassionally formed by lengthening the vowel *as* धीती and मती;

(iv) The locative singular termination is often elided *as* परमे व्योमन्;

(v) The vowel cases of nouns in उ are formed by ordinary rules of euphonic combination *as* तन्वम् or तनुवम्; and the instrumental by affixing आ or या or इया *as* उरुया or साधुया;

(vi) The dative of the personal pronouns ends in ए *as* युष्मे or अस्मे

(vii) The parasmipada first person plural termination is मसि *as* त्वमस्माकन्तवस्मसि, and of the third person plural is रे or रते *as* दुह्रे or दुह्रते.

(viii) The त of the atmanepada terminations is often dropped *as* दक्षिणतश्शये; and instead of त्वा there is त्वात्, *as* वारयध्वात्.

(ix) In the place of the imperative second person plural, there are त, तन, यन and तात् *as* शृणोत, पचतन, यतिष्टन and कृणुतात्

(x) Eight different forms of the mood लेट् signifying condition, are everywhere abundant *as* प्रण आयूंषि तारिषत्

(xi) Roots are not restricted to particular conjugations and at the caprice of the Rishi the same comes to more than one class ;

(xii) The infinitive suffixes are से, ध्ये, अध्यै, तवे and तवै *as* वक्षे, असे, पृणध्यै, सूतवे and मादयतवै ; the accusatives of some nouns are treated as infinitives governed by शक्, *as* विभागं नाशकत् ; the terminations तोस् and कस् occur when combined with ईश्वर *as* विचरितोः or विलिखः ; the potential participles are denoted by the suffixes तवै, ऐ, एरय and त्व *as* म्लेच्छितवै, अवगाहे, दिदृक्षेरय and कर्त्वम्; the indeclinable past ends in त्वाय *as* गत्वाय ; some forms *as* पीत्वी are also met with.

(xiii) A variety of verbal derivatives as दर्शत (*handsome*), जीवस् (*life*), and जनुस् (*product*) are frequent.

(xiv) A large number of words which have become obsolete or lost their significance in later Sanskrit are everywhere abundant *as* परिपन्थि, वनु and अमीवा

These peculiarities are noted because these are the most frequent and the most salient. Many others are mentioned by Panini, which the small compass of this

sketch cannot classify. Nor do they admit of any systematic arrangement. The Vedic dialect is the first record of the sanskrit tongue, from which by processes of phonetic decay and natural elision the later language has been perfected.

The Brahmanas of the Rik and the Yajus present the *second stage* in the development. Many of the peculiar words had already become obsolete, the declensions had approached mostly the classical grammar. The roots have no indiscriminate conjugation. The subjunctive is almost gone out of use. The indeclinable past and the gerundial infinitive end in त्वा and तुम् ; verbal forms of all moods and tenses are seen in abundance. Still there are the touches of the vedic relationship and archaisms are not rare:—

(i) Some feminine nouns have common forms for the dative and the genitive, *as* पृथिव्यै राजास्याः ;

(ii) The त of the third person is often dropped as before, *as* सवतौ वी प्रसवानामीशे ;

(iii) Some of the aorist forms do not follow the rules of Panini, *as* अज्ञत वा अस्य दन्ताः;

(iv) Some ntiqauated words occur *as* अनीक (*a shaft*) निष्ठाव (*referce*) भगवस् *prosperous*).

The Aitereya Brahmana quotes some *gathas* which are obviously more archaic than the rest of the work. Notwithstanding these irregularities, the Brahmanas are " the best representatives extant of the verbal portion of that language of which Panini writes the grammar, though he did

not mean these when he spoke of the *bhasha.*" The gradual and perhaps rapid progress in the symmetry and simplicity of the language has still to be accelerated by the work of later authors and their writings furnish an ample illustration of the next stage of linguistic development.

Yaska's Nirukta forms the intermediate link between the Vedic and the non-Vedic literature. It is not devoid of archaic expression, for we meet with such phrases as 'उपदेशाय ग्लायन्तः' (*unable to teach*) and शिशिक्ष राज्येन' (*invested with sovereignty*). But we have no clue to the dawn of a change of style from simplicity to complexity. To the same period in the history of Sanskrit belongs *Panini.* His *Ashtadhyayi* is based on the grammar of the *bhasha.* No language has survived to us that literally represents Panini's standard of dialect. Perhaps the later Brahmanas are the only best representatives. At any rate there is no portion of the existing Sanskrit literature that accurately represents Panini's Sanskrit, as regards the verbs and the nominal derivatives. Probably his grammar had for its basis the vernacular language of his day. Yaska and Panini stand to us the authorities on record of that form of the language which immediately followed the purely Vedic stage.

Times had advanced, and with it the language. Panini's *bhasha* could no longer stand stationary. The operation of the concurrent causes of linguistic progress had by the days of Katyayana and Patanjali modified Panini's denotation and introduced new changes in the

grammar of the language or in the scope of the aphorisms. *Katyayana's Vartikas* and *Patanjalis Mahabhashya* are devoted to the proper interpretation of the sutras and to the apt introduction of the missing links. If to Katyayana's eyes 10,000 inaccuracies are discernible in Panini, the only explanation must be that to Panini they were not inaccuracies, but by Katyayana's time the language had progressed and necessitated a fresh appendix or erratum in Panini's grammatical treatise. The period of intervention must have been sufficiently long to allow old grammatical forms to become obsolete and even incorrect and words and their meanings to become antiquated and even ununderstandaable. We may advantageously note a few of those prominent changes:—

(i) Panini in a special rule says that इतर has इतरम् for its neuter in the Vedas. Obviously he intended to exhaust the list. Katyayana has to add एकतर to it ;

(ii) Panini, when he says विष्किरः शकुनिर्विकिरो वा, would imply that each form has no other sense than that of a bird ; but Katyayana adds that both the forms are optional in the sense of ' birds,' while in any other sense they represent separate words ;

(iii) The vocative singular of neuter nouns ending in अन् such as ब्रह्मन् is ब्रह्मन् but Katyayana would add an optional ब्रह्म ;

(iv) Some feminine formations are not noticed by Panini, which Katyayana is forced to allow, *as* आर्याणी and उपाध्यायी.

(v) The word आश्चर्य is rendered as अनित्य by Panini; Katyayana substitutes for it अद्भुत.

(vi) The words and meanings of words employed by Katyayana are such as we meet with in the classical period and his expressions would not invite any special attention. This cannot be said of Panini. Many of his words are antiquated in the later language *as* मति (*desire*,) उप-संवाद (*bargain*), होतृ (*priest*).

To sum up: "In Panini's time a good many words and expressions were current which afterwards became obsolete; verbal forms were commonly used in Katyayana's time and some grammatical forms were developed in the time of the latter which did not exist in Panini." Katyayana's work therefore is founded on the basis of the classical Sanskrit, as illustrated by the epic and poetic literature, though he gives occasional sanction to the archaisms of Panini on the principle of literary tolerance. Patanjali shows but few forms varying from Katyayana and his treatise marks no stage in the growth of the language.

Here then the Sanskrit language had assumed a shape true to its name. The later epics, poems and dramas do not show any progress in the grammar, structure and signification of the language, though as regards style, they class themselves into an isolated species of literary composition. For all practical purposes, the language as perfected by the work of Katyayana and Patanjali has been the standard of later literature, and these are now the

acknowledged authorities on all points concerning the grammar or construction of the Sanskrit speech.

These two broad phases of the Sanskrit language—the Vedic and the Classical—admit of a corresponding classification in the body of the literature itself. The Vedic and the classical periods, which, as we have seen, are but the manifestation of the same language, partly overlap each other. They do not mark any strictly chronological succession. However some of the later works are assigned to the first period more for their subject-matter and their archaic style than for any just claim to a high antiquity. The classical portion is entirely a product of artificial growth in the sense that its vehicle at least after the dawn of the Christian era was not the language of the general body of the people, but of a small and educated class. This language, as constitutes the vast expanse of the Classical Sanskrit literature, is the subject of our consideration. "It would be a mistake to suppose that Sanskrit literature came into being only at the close of the Vedic period or that it merely forms its continuation and development." As a profane literature, it must in its earliest phases, which are lost, have been contemporaneous with the religious literature of the Vedas. The Rig Veda contains hymns of a narrative character. The Brahmanas have a number of short legends, partly in prose and partly in verse. The Nirukta contains many prose tales and the Brihaddevata forms the oldest existing collection of Vedic legend. Here then is the origin of Sanskrit epic poetry. At the head of the epic literature stand the Ramayanaand the Mahabha-

rata. The heavy volume and diverse matter of these works have given rise to many fanciful theories among oriental scholars. Some of the most prominent will be noticed in due detail in the accompanying pages. For the present, the theory of *Prof. Holtzmann* as to the nature and origin of the Mahabharata deserves a short review : The traditional stock of legends were first worked up into a precise shape by some Buddhist poets and this version, showing a decided prediliction for the Kaurava party as the representation of Buddhist principles, was afterwards revised in a contrary sense at the time of the Brahminical reaction by the votaries of Vishnu, when the Buddhistic features were generally modified into Saivite tendencies and prominence was given to the divine nature of Krishna as an incarnation. It is but right that the Brahminical priests should have deemed it desirable to subject the traditional memorials of Kshatriya chivalry and prestige to their own censorship and adapt them to their own canons of religion and civil law. This theory subverts all truth and tradition. It is not right to suppose that modifications and innovations especially in the religious character of sectarian works are so easily accomplished. No single Buddhistic record offers any ground for this theory. If such a standard work as the Mahabharata were included in the catalogue of the Buddhistic literature, certainly it cannot be dreamt that the Brahminical transformation could ever have been possible, so as to entirely erase from the huge mass all traces of the Buddhistic coloring. Clear demonstration is elsewhere made that the epic long preceded the dawn of the Buddhistic era. If any work has been the immemorial

standard of the ethics of the Vedic religion, it is pre-eminently the Mahabharata. Modern scholars see this and recognise the shallowness of Prof. Holtzmann's theory. Products of scholarly intellects, *wrongs* are honorably termed *theories* and the burden of disproving false accusations are thrown upon helpless Indian readers. But this instance is not alone; it has its parallels. The denial of the authorship of the Malavikagnimitra to Kalidasa by Weber and the assignment of the modern Puranas to a late period of the Christian era by Wilson are other illustrations of Holtzmann's precept. India must however be grateful to European scholars for the deep interest they have evinced in oriental literature, and for the keen incentive they have given to historical investigations.

The Kavyas or artificial epics are modelled after the manner of the Ramayana. They are generally writings of considerable length and elaborateness of construction, indicating a narrative, the character and incidents of which are of a lofty historical or a supernatural tone or expressing a recital of the events of ordinary or domestic life generally of a contemporary character. These Poems, Kavyas, are the subject of the whole science of Rhetoric; so that in the words of Mammata, a *Kavya* is thus characterised:—

"सकलप्रयोजनमौलिभूतं समनन्तरमेव रसास्वादनसमुद्भूतं विगलितवेद्यान्तरमानन्दं प्रभुसंमितशब्दप्रधानवेदादिशास्त्रेभ्यः सुहृत्संमितार्थतात्पर्यवत्पुराणादीतिहासेभ्यश्च शब्दार्थयोर्गुणभावेन रसाङ्गभूतव्यापारप्रवणतया विलक्षणं यत् काव्यं लोकोत्तरवर्णनानिपुणकविकर्म।"

Thus a Kavya is that which touches the inmost chords of the human mind and diffusing itself into the crevices of the heart works up a lasting sense of delight. It is "an expression in beautiful form and melodious language of the best thoughts and noblest emotions, which the spectacle of life awakens in the finest souls. Among the authors of this artificial poetry, the names of *Kalidasa*, *Magha and Harsha* are advantageously noted, for in the course of these centuries, they mark the deterioration of poetic style. "While in the old epic poetry form is subordinated to matter, it is of primary importance in the Kavyas, the matter becomes more and more merely a means for the display of tricks of style. The later the author of a Kavya is, the more he seeks to win the admiration of his audience by the cleverness of his conceits and the ingenuity of his diction, appealing always to the head rather than the heart. Even the very best of the Kavyas were composed in more strict conformity with fixed rules than the poetry of any other country. For not only is the language dominated by the grammatical rules of Panini, but the style is regulated by the elaborate laws about various forms of alliteration and figures of speech laid down in the treatises on poetics." As records of Hindu manners and customs they are unrivalled for their authenticity. As works of poetic art, lyrical beauty and natural tenderness, they have no peer in the world's literary history.

The Indian drama must unhesitatingly be described as purely native in its origin. "The Muhamadans when they overran India brought no drama with them. The

Persians, the Arabs, the Greeks were without a national heatre. It would be absurd to suppose the Indian drama o have owed anything to the Chinese and their offshoots. On the other hand there is no real evidence for assuming any influence of Greek example upon the Indian drama at any stage of its progress. Finally it had passed into its decline before the dramatic literature of modern Europe had sprung into being." An enquiry into the origin of the Indian drama is but a metaphysical theorisation. For purely literary excellence it holds its own against the advanced theatrical literature of the world. However it cannot in the present state be described as national in the widest sense of the term; it is, in short, the drama of the literary class, but as such it manifests many of the noblest, most refined as well as the most characteristic features of the Hindu religion and civilization. "Clothing itself in a diction always ornate and tropical, in which the prose is the warp and the poetry the weft, in which words become allusions, allusions similes, and similes metaphors, the Indian drama essentially depended upon its literary qualities and on the familiar sanctity of its favourite themes for such effect as it was able to produce. It weaves the wreaths of idyllic fancies in an unbroken chain, adding to its favourite and familiar blossoms ever fresh blossoms from an inexhaustible garden." Nor is it unequal to depict the grandeur aspects of nature in her mighty forests and on the shores of the ocean. The full extent of the existing dramatic literature has not seen the light yet, but the existence of a considerable number of dramas can be confidently asserted. Dramatic writing has not ceased among modern

Indian scholars. Perhaps these modern plays smack more of our contemporary tastes and reflect more the influence of European literature. Living authors there are, whose works, at least some of them, rightly deserve to be named along with the ancient classic writings. *Mr. Narayana Sastriar*, *Bhattasri* and *Balasarasvati* as he has been termed, is the reputed author of *ninety-four* dramas. A wonderful feat of a literary genius !! The lack of encouragement of living authors has been the sole cause of the obscurity of his writings. Among those pieces that have seen the press are the *Mithileeyam*, the *Sarmishthavijayam* and the *Kalidvi huna-nam*, of which the last is considered to be his master-piece. The style is uniformly amusing but the evils of later day poetry are not always avoided. He is a master of literary sanskrit and fancies are rich in poetic flights. Two romances in prose are yet in MSS. form, one of which describes the story and revelry of the Makhotsavam at Kumbakonam. But the prose-style requires a scholar to appreciate. The descriptions must be commented upon by the author himself and to a beginner his work would be beyond attraction. Some of the speeches are most elegantly written and the fluency of his vocabulary is unsurpassed. Among other later innovations upon the strict style of dramatic composition is the division of *acts* into *scenes*, which is obviously an imitation of western modes of composition. The *Dhruvatapas* of Mr. Padmanabhacharya, recently published in Coimbatore introduces such a division, but disregards the rhetorical precepts of dramatic construction. The language cannot be said to be easy but it is scholarly and some of ideas are an expression of the

social life of our own days. Such a device must certainly facilitate the adaptation of the Indian drama to the modern stage. Another step has been laudably adopted—the translation and adaptation of foreign plays into Sanskrit. Among these must be mentioned the *Vasantika-swapnam* of Mr. R. Krishnamachariar, which reproduces the story of the Mid-summer Night's Dream of Shakespeare. The language is lucid and simple, but the omission of the original division into scenes has not facilitated representation. Still the acts are not too long, so as to make us feel a tediousness in the dramatic construction. But as regards the practicability of the theatrical representation of the Indian dramas, there is nothing highly in its favour. They are fit for the hall not for the stage. They are superior literary compositions, not histrionic entertainments. They require a scholar for their appreciation, not the mob. The most ancient however of the Indian dramas are eminently fitted for representation, while the later suffer under the same disabilities as we have noticed in the case of the artificial poems. The same gradual deterioration in the style of the dramatic writings is observable and *Sudraka Bhavabhutui* and *Murari* are apply chosen to illustrate it.

The "Victorian Age" of English Literature is essentially an age of prose-fiction. Unfortunately this remark cannot find a parallel illustration from the whole of Sanskrit literature. The catalogue of prose romances is very thin and the very few works, that have come down to us, all belong to the later or artificial period. The ground-work, however, of this romance composition was uncons-

ciously developing in the Vedic period. The language of the Brahmanas, the Sutras, the Bhashyas, all these contributed to the formation of a suitable style for a novel kind of literary composition.

The history of literary styles of composition is indigenous in origin and inperceptible in growth. Primitive people adapt themselves to such modes of writing as are naturally fitted to their own stages of civilization. The climatic exigencies of a country, the geographical peculiarities, the fertility and richness of the soil, the nature of the government and the civilization around, all these contribute not a little towards the formation of a man. The Arcadian mountaineer, isolated from the rest of the civilized Greece by an impassable barrier of hills and inhaling the air of a swampy atmosphere, could not be expected to be of an inventive and ingenious mind. The South African savage ever on the verge of starvation, not knowing of to-morrow but half satisfied with what he chases out to-day, unaffected by the frequent climatic changes, driven through thorny woods in season and out of season, cannot be expected to boast of a literature nor of a civilization, ancestral or his own. Whereas, the ancient Hindus, long ago emigrating from the unfertile regions of the Central Asian plateau and settling themselves happily in the basin of the three rivers of Hindustan were enamoured of the beauty of the sky-clad summits of the Hymalayan mount and the fertility of the soil which the benign hand of Providence blessed with crops, timely and fruitful. All this could not but kindle, in the minds of the semi-savage

Aryan settlers, the desire to express themselves in the best language they could. "The origin of poetry," says Sayce "is from a wish to set forth in clear and distinct language the ideas which possess the mind." A sort of musical rhythm and emphasis was essential to this and this they found in poetry. 31th July 1918 A.D.

Secondly, "Ancient India," says W. W. Hunter "is essentially philosophic in its ideas and actions." The ancient sages, as we learn from a perusal of the Vedic literature, spent their lives in philosophic contemplations and their earnest endeavours have been rightly rewarded by the praises of succeeding generations. A common philosophical creed, it is the opinion of some scholars, must have prevailed in India long before the crystallisation of rationalistic inquiry into separate systems. On examination, this common creed should have descended to the Gangetic plain along with the Aryan settlers from the central Asiatic regions. To an expression of such philosophic inquiry or contemplation, they found poetry better adapted than prose. This conjecture is supported by a sentence of Emerson's: "Poetry is the perpetual endeavour to express the spirit of the thing, to search the life and reason which causes the brute body to exist or desist. All words of such inquiry are poems."

Again, "India is singularly the land of poetry." The Hindu mind, dreamy, mystic and speculative, with the imaginary side more highly developed than the active, naturally had a mania for poetry more than for anything

else. Prose is the special property of the active, as poetry is of the grave and the imaginative.

Lastly, the natural tendency of primitive compositions leaned towards poetry rather than prose. The poems of Homer, the songs of Caedmon were preserved from time immemorial by rhapsodists who earned their livelihood by singing these works and who transmitted them from age to age through blindly getting them by rote—of course with so many changes incidental to such a mode of preservation. Such was the case in India too. Therefore, in an archaic society, when writing—much less printing—was unknown, when personal communication was in its embryo, oral tradition was the only means of safeguarding their time-honoured literature and for such oral transmission, it is obvious, they found poetry preferable to prose.

These four causes answer the question of the scarcity of early sanskrit prose. The overthrow of the Brahminic pedantry by the teachings of Gautama and Kapila was followed by the sutra age which in its turn was supplanted by the Bhashya period. The genius of the Hindu nation had by this time eminently become practical and the immense development of ideas had tended to encourage individuality of character and to give importance to private and domestic life. As a consequence the literature of fiction showed signs of speedy progress. The names of *Dandin*, *Bana* and *Vadibhasimha* stand foremost in the list of Indian romances. The self same eye of time, that noticed the brilliant advancement of sanskrit romance for

centuries more than seven, saw the decline and downfall of such lofty poetic ideas. Modern representatives of these romances, the *Champus* of the last century, lay no claim to any elegance at all. Their authors hardly deserve the credit of an aesthetic taste. The earlier Champus were an amusing composition and the tempering of prose with verse was happily accomplished. The reformation has long since set in. A struggle has commenced in the land to go beyond the dead forms of literary composition and to recover what is pure, nourishing and life-giving. The translation of some of the tales of Shakespere into elegant sanskrit prose and the epitomical redaction of Bana's invaluable romance are a concrete manifestation of the imperceptible progress of literary ideas.

In this brief description of the poetry, the prose and the drama of Sanskrit, we have been speaking of a gradual deterioration in the simplicity of language and lucidity of composition. For a clear understanding of the causes of such a decline in the merit of literary writings, the history of styles had better be traced since the Vedic beginnings. The earliest literature presents a fluent and simple style of composition. The sentences are short and verbal forms are abundant. Attributive and nominal expressions do not find a place therein. This construction is facilitated by a succession of concise ideas, which gives it a sort of simple grace and fine-cut structure. This then is the form of the Brahmana language. It lacks not striking thoughts, bold expression and impressive reasoning. Leaving out of account the unnatural appearance of the sutra style—which

was not however a literary composition—we come to Yaska and his Nirukta. Scientific as it is, the language of Yaska often reminds us of the earlier writings. The frequency of verbal forms were current during the time of Panini. It was after the epoch of the Ashtadhyayi that a change had come over literary styles. Attributes attracted greater attention and compounds could alone compress long dependent sentences into the needed form. 'In argument the ablative of an abstract noun saves a long periphrasis.' The minute rules of Panini for constructing the innumerable verbal forms facilitated this mania for conciseness of expression. Thus the fluent or simple style came gradually to be displaced by the formative or attributive style. To this was added the richness and flexibility of the sanskrit language itself, which allowed any sort of twisting and punning of the literary vocabulary. The Puranas and the Itihasas were composed at the transitional stage in the history of literary styles. They present at the same time the simplicity of the earlier language and the complexity of the later composition. So do the earliest specimens of poetic and dramatic literature. Hence the natural and not improbable conclusion is that if an author shows an easy and elegant style and if the flow of his language is more natural, it must be either his taste is too æsthetic for his age or his work must be assigned to an early period in the history of literature. This artificial style was greatly developed in the field of philosophy and dialectics. Patanjali's language is most simple, lucid and impressive. The sentences are short and such as one would use in oral disputations. No tiring compounds, no

intricate constructions are to be traced therein. The ideas are easily intelligible. The forms of words are all similar to the earlier dramas or the Puranas. Sabaraswamin has a lively style, though this presents a further stage in the downward progress. Now the philosophical style sets in and continues to a degree of mischief which is now beyond all reformation. Sankara represents the middle stage. His explanations are aided by dialectic terminology. Involved construction and attributive qualification form the chief marring instruments. But his language is fluent and perspicuous, but not petrified as that of later writers. The last stage is reached in the works of the Naiyayikas. These latter hate the use of verbs. The ablative singular and the indeclinable particles play a prominent part in their composition. Nouns are abstract and even participles are rare. The style is one of solidified formulæ, rather of a varying discourse. Thus the end is that the movement which started with the simple sentence and predicative construction has run up to a stage where the original character is entirely modified and the Sanskrit language has become a language of abstract nouns and compound words.

This rapid deterioration in the style of scientific composition had a corresponding influence on the language of literary writings. The earlier works of prose or poetry are simple, natural and suggestive; the later are complex, strained and unnatural. Sri Harsha can never reflect Kalidasa, nor can Trivikrama compare with Dandin. The characteristics of this latter style are thus summarised:—

Very few verbal forms are used besides those of such tenses as the present and the future; participles are frequently met with; the verbal forms of some roots, especially of those belonging to the less comprehensive classes, have gone out of use and in their place we often have a noun expressive of the special action and a verb expressive of action generally; compound words are abnormally long and tedious poetic description obscures the thread of the narrative.

The literature of the Hindus, extensive and valuable as it is, includes scarcely any work of a historical character. The genius of the Hindu nation was from its dawn opposed to chronicles. This lack of external evidence among the authors of this vast literature seriously impedes historical research and chronological arrangement. Hence it is that the early history of India it still a moddle of conjectures and inferences. The earliest landmark would naturally be the age of Buddha and his reform. Here then there is the usual uncertainty. The ground is slippery and the Buddhists among themselves are widely diverged in their views. "Among the Northern Buddhists fourteen different accounts are found, ranging from B. C. 2422 to B. C. 546; the eras of Southern Buddhists on the contrary must agree with each other and all of them start from B. C. 544. This latter chronology has been recently adopted as the correct one on the ground it accords best with these conditions." The next historical datum is afforded by the annals of the Maurya dynasty. Sir William Jones was the first to identify the Sandracotus of the Greek history with Chandragupta,

the founder of the Mauryan dynasty, whose date 315 B. C. gives us a starting point, wherefrom to reconstruct a rough outline of the history of early India between he sixth and third century B. C. The reign of Asoka orms to us an undisputed part of Indian history. His edicts re inscriptions on rocks and pillars, the most invaluable from linguistic, religious and political points of view. A word about them will not be out of place. These edicts published in the tenth and twelfth years of Asoka's reign (253 and 251 B. C.) are found in distinct places in the extreme East and West of India. As revealed in these engraved records, the spoken dialect was essentially the same throughout the wide and fertile regions lying between the Vindhya and the Himalayas and between the mouths of the Indus and the Ganges. The language appears in three varieties, which may be named the *Punjabi*, the *Ujjaini* and the *Magadhi*. These point to a transitional stage between Sanskrit and Pali. " The language of the inscriptions," says Princep " although necessarily that of their date and probably that in which the first propagators of Buddhism expounded their doctrines, seems to have been the spoken language of the people of Upper India than a form of speech peculiar to a class of religionists or a sacred language, and its use in the edicts of Piyadasi, although incompatible with their Buddhistic origin, cannot be accepted as a conclusive proof that they originated from a peculiar form of religious belief." The mention of the names of some contemporary foreign kings as Ptolemy, Antiochus and Antigonus gives strength to the chronological data afforded by independent sources. The progress

medals

of language, the state of religion and the contact with foreigners—these are prominently reflected in the records of Asoka.

For a few centuries after Asoka, coins and inscriptions are the only source of information. The Kushana branch of the Graeco-Bactrian race established a powerful dominion under Kazulo Kadphises. His immediate successor Kanishka forms a noteworthy personage in Indian History and his date 78 A. D. marks the beginning of an era, concurrent with the Salivahanasaka of Southern India. This limit is otherwise remarkable, as we shall see later on, as the starting point of all oriental research in Indian chronology and to it has been accorded an infalliable authority ; so much so the system has obtained a prescriptive claim, too petrified to allow of any questioning demonstration. From the fourth century A. D. the copper-plate records become more numerous. Epigraphical and numismatic discoveries have likewise facilitated research. But still these have not given us any continuous history. Numerous blanks are yet to be patched up, which can only be done by means of reason or conjecture. Besides the notices of foreign writers are remarkable as furnishing authentic information regarding contemporary India. "The travels of Fa-Hian and Hiouen Thsang have supplied many important data for the periods to which they belong, while the minute and careful state records of the Chinese have not only given us valuable details as to the history of the barbarous Scythian tribes, whose movements on the northern frontier of India in the first century of the

Christian era would otherwise be so obscene, but have further preserved to us the names of numerous Sramanas who visited India in the interests of Buddhism, as well as the notices of embassies between China and India, all bearing witness to the close intercourse maintained between the two countries. The particulars of the information they have contributed to the literary history of India will be noticed in their proper places. The seventh century brings us some genuine history. It opens with the supremacy of Harshavardhana Siladitya II, the hero of Bana's romance, whose durbar was the scene of the patronage of contemporary art and literature. About the same time occured the disruption of the early Chalukya kingdom, whose numerous dated inscriptions record many references to literary history. From the eighth century onwards, synchronisms, internal evidence and contemporary notices combine to fix with tolerably certainty the period of the more famous writers.

Of the *quasi-historical works* we have known a few. Most important are the *Satrunjaya-Mahatmya* of *Dhananjay* the *Harshacharita* of *Bana*, the *Vikramankadeva-charita* of *Bilhana* and the *Taranginis* of *Kalhana*, *Srivara* and *Jonaraja*. . . . .

. . . .

.... Kalhana's Rajatarangini attracts our closest attention. As a chronicle of Kashmirian annals, it is perhaps a true representation. Its importance in literary history is founded on the variety and completeness of traditional information it gives of past history comprising a long

period of about 3500 years. Kalhana was the son of Champaka and was by birth a brahmin of Kashmir. His father was a fervent worshipper of the Tirthas of Nandikshetra and was in life a loyal official of the court of King Harsha. He wrote the introduction to his work in 1148 A. D. Kalhana's account of Kashmir begins in 628 of the Laukika era and ends with 4203. The first book forms the narrative of the Gonanda dynasty and embraces an interval of 2233 years and the rest of the work describes the history of five successive dynasties ending with the reign of Jayasimha. Kalhana's account is a purely poetical amplification of the text of the *Nilamata*. In judging of the story of Gonanda and his descendants as told in the latter, there is a deliberate attempt made to connect special Kashmirian legends with those of India proper and particularly the Mahabharata. The true value of the alleged connection between the story of Gonanda and the Great War can thus be easily estimated. Yet it is the imaginary synchronism with a legendary event, which Kalhana has chosen as the fundamental datum for his chronological system. For he derives 653 Kali as the initial year of Gonanda rule from the traditional date of the coronation of Yudhisthira.

It cannot be disputed that Kalhana's work has in it many stories of a legendary character and the basis of his chronology is founded on slippery tradition. The radical Indian scholar, however, argues for Kalhana and the authenticity of his record. He says, modern scholars start with the axiom that Kanishka ruled about 78 A. D.,

but Kalhana's Kanishka can by no means be assigned to that date. The Rajatarangini gives after Kanishka a long line of kings whose reigns make up more than 2330 years to the date of its own composition. If Kanishka were placed in 78 A. D., then Kalhana will go up to 2408 A. D. and we are only in the beginning of the 20th century. The *History of the Advaitacharyas* invariably furnishes us with the exact dates of birth and death of a long succession of priests and so do the *Guruparampara* stories of the Dravidian saints of Southern India. It is unfortunate, therefore, that if an ancient record conflicts with our conclusions, the record comes to be misinterpreted or discredited, rather than our conclusions are altered by a scrutinising demonstration.

Apart from the plausibility of these arguments, Indian tradition is not free from all taint of mythological uncertainty. It requires time before the elements of traditional chronology can be sifted and arranged to keep correspondence with the accepted system of literary dates. To the eye of a rationalistic observer, the data of the *Yuga* calculation cannot be acceptable. A scholar of Madras has recently proved that the historical Kaliyuga could not be traced further back than 1500 B. C. In this unsettled condition of literary opinion, we leave the question again open for a scientific and critical examination.

These prefatory pages will now introduce the reader to a study of the Classical Sanskrit literature. Amidst other work of a student's life, I had but a short leisure for this

compilation. This must sufficiently account for all defects of composition or arrangement. I do not profess to pass any of the views herein set forth purely as my own. I do not claim any originality or excellence to these pages. The scheme of oriental research as perfected by the learned scholars of Europe has been the cause of all progress in the literary history of India. I have endeavoured to summarise within a small compass the results of the latest inquiries into Indian studies. If any credit is due to this work, it is because at its foundation lie the admirable fruits of Indian scholarship. Most important of all, I express my sincere indebtedness to my own countrymen R. C. Dutt, Bhandarkar and R. L. Mitra for their grand contributions to the history of Indian civilization. My thanks are due to the Proprietor of the Vaijayanti Press for his sincere interest in the success of my labours. With the strong hope. then, that the matter will be better appreciated than the manner, I venture to present the book to the judgment of the literary world.

TRIPLICANE,
Madras, 26th Oct. 1906. M. KRISHNAMACHARYA.

CONTENTS.

THE CLASSICAL PERIOD

OF

SANSKRIT LITERATURE.

CHAPTER I.

THE ANTIQUITY OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE.

THE sacred literature of India, inferior to none in variety or extent, is superior to all others in nobility of thought, in sanctity of spirit and in generality of comprehension. In beauty or prolixity, it can vie with any other literature ancient or modern. Despite the various impediments to the steady development of the language, despite the successive disturbances, internal and external, which India had to encounter ever since the dawn of history, she has successfully held up to the world her archaic literary map, which meagre outline alone favourably compares with the literature of any other nation of the globe. The keenest researches of modern scholars have not enlightened the dark recesses of India's early literary history. The beginnings of her civilization are yet in obscurity. Relatively to any other language of the ancient world, the antiquity of Sanskrit has an unquestioned priority.

"The literature of India passes generally for the most ancient literature of which we possess written records and justly so":*—For, it was argued that,

(i) Astronomical data could be appealed to, according to which the Vedas would date from about 1400 B. C.;

(ii) One of the Buddhistic eras could be relied upon, according to which a reformer was supposed to have arisen in the sixth century B. C. in opposition to Brahminical heirarchy;

(iii) The period when Panini flourished had been referred to the 4th century B. C., and from this, as a starting point, conclusions as to the period of literary development before him could be deduced.

These reasons recent research has proved to be baseless and the conclusion itself may be grounded on the accompanying data :—

(i) In the more ancient parts of the Rig Veda, the Aryans appear to have dwelt in the North Western frontiers of India and thence gradually advanced farther eastward. The writings of the following period treat of accounts of internal conflict with the aboriginal races. If these are compared and connected with the accounts by Megasthenes, it is clear that at his time the Brahmanisation of Hindustan was already complete.

(ii) In the songs of the Rik, the robust spirit of the people gives expression to the feeling of its relation to nature with a spontaneous freshness and simplicity. Beginning with this nature worship, we trace

* The first two chapters are based or Weber and Mac Donell.

in Indian literature the gradual progress of Hindu religious ideas through all their phases which development must have taken time abnormally long, enough to bring the earliest skirts of Indian literature to an archaic age.

(iii) Prof. Max Muller's earliest estimate of 1200 B. C., appears to be much near the mark. A lapse of three centuries from 1300 to 1000 B. C. amply accounts for the difference between what is oldest and newest in Vedic Hymn poetry.

(iv) The recent theory of Prof. Jacobi of Bonn. fixes the date back to at least 4000 B. C. The theory is based on astronomical calculations connected with a change in the beginning of the seasons, which he supposes had taken place since the time of the Rig Veda. But this estimate is falsified by the assumption of a doubtful and improbable meaning in a Vedic word, which forms the very starting point of the theory.

CHAPTER II.

The history of Indian literature falls into two periods: the Vedic and the Classical.

I. The Vedic period 1500—200 B. C.

The Vedic literature comprises the four Vedas: the Rik, the Yajus, the Saman and the Atharvan. Each of these has three forms or parts, the Samhita, the Brahmana and the Upanishad portions.

The Samhita of the Rik is purely a lyrical collection, forming the immediate source of the other three. The next

two are made up of verses and ritual formulæ, meant to be recited at Sacrifices. The Atharva Samhita resembles the Rik in that it forms a store of songs, devoted to sacrifices mostly in connection with incantations and magical charms.

The Brahmanic period comprehends "the first establishment of the three-fold ceremonial, the composition of the individual Brahmanas and the formation of the Charanas." They connect the sacrificial songs and formulas with the sacrificial rite by pointing out on the one hand their direct relation, and on the other their symbolical connection with each other. The general nature of these works is marked by shallow but masterly grandiloquence, by prepossessed conceit but antiquarian sincerity. In the words of Prof. Eggeling, these works deserve to be studied as a physician studies the twaddle of idiots or the raving of mad men. With all this, the composition lacks not striking thoughts, bold expression and logical reasoning. The Brahmanas of the Rik generally refer to the duties of the Hotr ; of the Saman, to those of Udgatr ; of the Yajus, to the actual performance of the sacrifice. They are valuable to us as the earliest records of Sanskrit prose.

The Sutra literature has its claim to our attention, in that it forms a connecting link between the Vedic and the later Sanskrit. The Sutras themselves are most artificial, most enigmatical. 'Sutra' means a 'string' and compatibly with this sense, all works of this style are nothing but one uninterrupted chain of short sentences linked together in a most concise form. "Even the apparent simplicity" says Colebrooke, "vanishes in the perplexity of structure. The endless pursuit of exceptions and limitations so disjoins the general precepts, that the reader cannot keep in view their intended

connection. He wanders in an intricate maze and the clew of the labyrinth, is continually slipping from his hands." Though not very valuable from an artistic point of view, they from a literary composition, the most curious and the most ingenious the history of literature has ever seen.

II. The Classical Period.

The direct data attesting the posteriority of this period consist in these facts :—

(i) That its opening phases everywhere presuppose the Vedic period as entirely closed ;

(ii) That its oldest portions are regularly based on the Vedic literature;

(iii) That the relations of life have now all arrived at a stage of development of which in the first period we can only trace the germs and the beginning.

The distinction between the periods is also by changes in language and subject matter.

First, as regards language:—

1. The special characteristics in the second period are so significant, that it appropriately furnishes the name for the period, whereas the Vedic period receives its designation from the works composing it.

2. Among the various dialects of the different Indo-aryau tribes, a greater unity had been established after their emigration into India, as the natural result of their intermingling in their new home. The grammatical study of the Vedas fixed the frame of the language so that the generally recognised *Bhasha* had arisen. The estrangement of the civic language

to increase the speed of
from that of the mass accelerated by the assimilation of the aboriginal races resulted in the formation of the popular dialects, the *prakrits*—proceeding from the original *Bhasha* by the assimilation of consonants and by the curtailment or loss of termination.

3. The phonetic condition of Sanskrit remains almost exactly the same as that of the earliest Vedic. In the matter of grammatical forms, the language shows itself almost stationary. Hardly any new formations or inflexions make their appearence yet. The most notable of these grammatical changes were the disappearance of the subjunctive mood and the reduction of a dozen infinitives to a single one. In declension the change consisted chiefly in the dropping of a number of synonymous forms.

4. The vocabulary of the language has undergone the greatest modifications. It has been extended by derivation and composition according to recognised types. Numerous words though old seem to be new, because they happen by accident not to occur in the Vedic literature. Many new words have come in through continental borrowings from a lower stratum of language, while already existing words have undergone great changes of meaning.

Secondly, as regards the subject matter:—

1. The Vedic literature handles its various subjects only in their details and almost solely in their relation to sacrifice, whereas the classical discusses them in their general relations.

2. In the former a simple and compact prose had gradually been developed, but in the latter this form is abandoned

and a rhythmic one adopted in its stead, which is employed exclusively even for strictly scientific exposition.

During the classical epoch, Brahmanic culture was intro duced into and overspread the southern portion of the conti- nent. This period, embracing in general secular subjects, achieved distinction in many branches of literature, in national as well as Court Epic, in lyric, especially didactic poetry, in the drama, in the fairy tales, fables and romances. Everywhere, we find much true beauty, which is however marred by obscurity of style and the ever increasing taint of artificiality. These works are in no way dominated by a sense of harmony and proportion. The tendency has been towards exaggeration manifesting in all directions. Among these are :—

(i) The almost incredible development of detail in ritual observance ;
(ii) The extraordinary excesses of asceticism ;
(iii) The grotesque representations of mythology in art ;
(iv) The frequent employment of vast numbers in description ;
(v) The immense bulk of the epics ;
(vi) The unparalleled conciseness of one of the forms of prose ;
(vii) The huge compounds employed in later prose romances.

The total lack of historical sense is so characteristic that there appears an entire lack of chronology. Two causes account for this :–

(i) Early India wrote no history, because it never made any. Ancient India never went through a struggle for life like the Greeks and the Romans in the

Persian and the Punic wars, such as would have welded the isolated tribes and developed political genius.

(ii) The Brahmins, the dominant learned class, had early embraced the doctrine that all action and existence are a positive evil and could therefore have felt little inclination to chronicle historical events.

CHAPTER III.

EPIC POETRY.

Epic poetry, as distinguished from lyrical, has this principal characteristic, that it should confine itself more to external action than to internal feelings. Hence Epos is a natural expression of national life. When nations begin to grow up in ideas and civilization and consequently to reason and to speculate, their minds are turned inwards. Then the spontaneous outburst of epic song ceases and other kinds of refined poetry have their origin.

From the earliest times songs in celebration of great heroes were current in India, handed down by rhapsody and tradition. Ancient Vedic legends name not a few of such heroes and even the later epic personages are found to act in the same Vedic cycles in which the vedic poetry moves. The Vedic traditions were not yet obliterated from the recollections of the people, when the epic poems began to be written, nor did they lose their currency when by the efforts of the Brahmin priests all the remains of epic songs were collected into a large body in the form of the Mahabharata. In the songs of praise to the Vedic deities we have the beginnings of

epic poetry. The age of the Grihya Sutras testifies to the use of the Itihasas at sacrifices and many of the Brahmanas themselves have some passages called Itihasas and Akhyayikas. When compared with the later forms, the Vedic legends put on a primitive air and their style and mode are rude and simple.

Thus we have to look to the Vedas themselves for the source of Epic poetry. Epic literature, then, with its only representatives, the two leading epics, must have had its earliest composition in the pre-buddhistic era, at a period not later than the 5th century B. C. For,

1. The Ramayana records no case of Sati. Except in the single instance of Madri, Pandu's wife, none of the widows of slain heroes immolate themselves with their husbands. This proves the beginning of the practice of Sati. This rare and no reference to such an important custom in the earliest literary records of poetry leads to the assignment of both these compositions to a period before the third century B.C., when Megasthenes found it well prevalent as far east as Magadha.

2. The first construction of the poems must have been anterior to the actual establishment of Buddhism. Only one direct mention of Buddha occurs in the Ramayana and the context there proves that it must be an unmistakable interpolation. Nor does the Mahabharata make any such direct reference, though it must be admitted that there are allusions to the development of rationalistic inquiry and sceptic materialism.

3. The evidence of the Asoka inscriptions proves that by the 3rd century B. C. the provincial *prakrit* dialects had

already become the vernaculars. If the first redaction of the epic poems had not been considerably earlier, we could not have expected the language to be unalloyed by the influence of the vernacular tongues.

4. Dion Chrysostomos, a Greek writer of the first century, records the existence in his time of Indian epic poetry, indicating their resemblance to the Homeric poems and their currency in India long before the fourth century B. C.

Epic poetry, then, which forms the starting point of the classical Sanskrit literature, falls into two classes, the *Itihasa-puranas* and the *Kavyas*.

Section I.

The Mahabharata represents the Itihasa group. It weaves into it epic and didactic matter, divided into 18 books called *parvans*, with the Harivamsa as a supplement. The extant recension may be regarded under a three-fold aspect—as a work relating events of an historic character as a record of mythological and legendary lore, as the source whence specially the military caste was to obtain its instruction in all matters concerning their welfare in this and their bliss in future life. In one sense this work is the source of all the Puranas and as a document for antiquity, unrivalled for religious statesmanship.

Prof. Mac Donell discovers three distinct stages in the augmentation of the text:—

(i) The disconnected battle-songs, originally current as immemorial folklore, were worked up into a connected epic plot with the history of the Kuru race

as its basis. This period makes Brahma, the highest God. This must therefore have preceded the Buddha era.

(ii) Handed down by rhapsodists, the body of the epic got unusually swelled up. The two Gods, Siva and Vishnu are introduced on a level with Brahma, and Krishna appears as a Vaishnavite incarnation.

(iii) The sectarian division was already prominent by the time of Megasthenes and mention is made of Hindu temples and Buddhistic mounds. The reference to the Yavanas and the Pahlavas makes also probable an extension of the epic just after 300 B. C.

This epic is a traditional record of an early period of Hindu history, compiled and modelled by them to suit a special purpose of their own, that of imposing their own law on the Kshatriyas. "The fabric of this voluminous epos was not built in a day. Different times supplied different materials for it and with the importance of the object the greatness of the task increased."

In dealing with this traditional lore of the military caste, the authors would have to meet three categories of facts:—facts which were more or less in accordance with the religious and political system to be established and consolidated by them ; facts, if not in harmony, yet not antagonistic ; and facts entirely opposed to it. Of these the first would be lauded, the second tolerated and so the third could only be explained away, because they could not be suppressed, as being too deeply rooted in tradition and consequently as having the strongest presumption in favour of their authenticity, *e.g.*, five-maled marriage of Draupadi.

(i) Polyandry never found any place in the Brahminical Code or in the habits of the Hindu and if in spite of its thorough offensiveness it was imputed to the very heroes of the great Epos, there seems to have been no alternative but to admit it as a historic fact. If this marriage was a real event, it throws at once the fight of the Pandavas to such a remote antiquity as to leave behind, not only Manu, but even those Vedic writings of Aswalayana and others on whose writings the ancient law of India is based.

(ii) The institution of caste did not exist in the Vedic period. It was however fully recognised by Manu's time. During the Vedic age a warrior like Viswamitra could aspire to be a Brahmin or a brahmin like Vasista could be a warrior, but Manu does not allow such a confusion of occupations. It recurs only at the latest period of Hinduism. The "disguise of the Pandavas" must have been highly objectionable after the foundation of caste. "False boasting of a higher caste," is an offence according to Manu, ranked along with the murder of a brahmin.

(iii) The Law of Marriage and Inheritance. There are passages where their contents and the law-book differ considerably. It is impossible to assume the occurrences mentioned are innovations on Manu :—

(*a*) Vichitra-virya died childless and Vyasa begot two sons on his widows. Manu allows it only in the case of Sudras. Even there the procreation is limited to a single offspring. Both these must have been unknown to Vyasa, for the other was a Kshatriya and Vyasa being a Brahmin procreated not only

more than one child for the benefit of his relative, but so far as his belief went there.

(*b*) Bhishma, making mention of the marriage notions of his time when chosing the daughters of Banares to wife to his brother, differs from Manu. He says "Men of military caste exalt and practise the self-choice mode and the law-giver calls the choicest of all wives, her, who has been carried off by force."

In the Mahabharata, therefore, a state of society is depicted, that is anterior to the Code of Manu and an investigation of those portions would show that this society differs from the society mirrored by the ancient Code not only in regard to positive law but in customs and morality.

Further testimonies as to the age of the Mahabharata :—

1. Panini teaches us the accent of *Maha* in Mahabharata and that the termination *Aka* must be applied to Vasudeva and Arjuna to form derivatives. There is a subtlety, which however shows that the epic characters had come to be regarded as demi-gods. But it is not unlikely that Panini was led to put them together because they were always associated together in the minds of the people as they are in this epic. In a third Sutra we have Yudhistira.

2. In Patanjali's work, we have the names of Bhima, Sahadeva and Nakula mentioned as descendants of Kuru. In another place, where Patanjali comments on Panini III, ii, 122. "Dharmena sma Kuravo Yudhyante" it appears, that the war was considered as having taken place at a very remote time.

3. The Brahmanas must have gone before the Sutras. Aitereya mentions Janamejaya and Bharata as powerful kings.

4. Aswalayana (about 350 B. C.) names Bharata and Mahabharata in his Grihya Sutras.

5. About A. D. 80, Dion Chrysostom writes "Even among the Indians, they say, Homer's poetry is sung, having been translated by them in their own dialect and tongue and the Indians are well-acquainted in the sufferings of Piani, the lamentations of Andromache and the prowess of Achilles and Hector." These allusions keep close correspondence with leading incidents in our epic.

6. "It has as its basis a war waged on the soil of Hindustan between Aryan tribes and therefore properly belonging to a time when their settlement in India and the subjugation and brahminisation of the native inhabitants had already been accomplished. Of the epic in its extant form only about one-fourth relates to this conflict and the myths that have been associated with it, while the elements composing the remainder do not belong to it at all and have only the loosest possible connection therewith as well as with each other. ....Even at the portion, which is recognisable as the original basis—that relating to war—many generations must have laboured, before the text attained to an approximately settled shape."—*Weber.*

7. In one of the Nasik inscriptions dated 394 A. D., Gokarniputra's prowess is compared to that of Bhima and Arjuna. Another inscription of Dharwar bears 3730 in the era of the Mahabharata War corresponding to Saka 560 or

A. D. 638. It thus appears that about the 6th century, the war which forms the theme of the epic was considered to have taken place 4000 years before.

The Mahabharata is not so much a poem as an encyclopædia of Hindu law, ethics and mythology. Indian tradition assigns the authorship of this vast poem to Vyasa, to whom also is attributed the arrangement of the Puranas. The principal story occupies little more than a fifth of the whole, but this lowest layer is overlaid by successive incrustations so as to obscure the very recognition of the substratum.

The poem relates the story of the great war between the Pandavas and the Kauravas, both descendants of the lunar race, concluding in the victory of the former and the installation of King Yudhistira on the throne of Hastinapura. But the Great Epic stops not here, but it responds most truly to the deeper emotions of Hinduism. "It instils a more sublime moral that all who desire rest must aim at union with the Infinite." The concluding chapters lead us to the sublime description of the renunciation of their kingdom by the Pandava princes, prior to their ascent to the celestial world.

Commentaries.—"The best known commentator of the Mahabharata is Nilakanta, who lived at Kurupara to the West of Godavari in Maharashtra and according to Burnell belongs to the sixteenth century. Older is Arjuna Misra, whose commentary appears in the Calcutta edition of 1875. The earlier commentator is Sarvagna Narayana, large fragments of whose notes have been preserved and who cannot have written later than the 2nd half of the 14th century, but may be somewhat older."—*Mac Donell.*

SECTION II.

The Ramayana.—The immortal epic of Valmiki is undoubtedly one of the gems of literature—indeed some considering it as the Kohinoor of the literary region, which has, for centuries and from time immemorial, shedding unparalleled and undying halo upon the domain presided over by "the vision and faculty divine." The author is regarded a *rishi* or a seer and he says he was a contemporary of Rama. His hermitage lay on the banks of the Ganges, and there Sita was delivered of her twin sons, whose foster-father he was. "It is quite possible that, as the Ramayana is said to have arisen in the race of the Ikshvakus, many legends were afloat at the royal court, which were woven together in a poetic form, in conformity to the rules of rhetoric by Valmiki, the first poet."

The age of the Ramayana has been already proved to be pre-buddhistic, as is also of all the epic poetry of India. Modern research has proved that the epic kernel of the Ramayana must have been completed before the 5th century B.C., and the present recensions assumed this form three centuries before the christian era. *The accompanying data of date determination are discernible:—*

1. The *Dasaratha Jataka* contains the story of Rama in one of the *Pali Jutaka-tales* in a somewhat altered form. "While Valmiki's poem concludes with the reunion of Rama and Sita, the *Jataka* is made to end with the marriage of the couple after the manner of the Fairy tales, there being at the same time traces that they were wedded all along in the original source of the legend." The *Jataka* moreover has

imbedded into it a verse from the Ramayana in a slightly vernacular form. Hence our poem precedes the Jataka age.

2. The Greeks are mentioned only twice and that under the vague name of Yavanas, which word embraces not only the Greeks but many of those alien races that had from time to time made inroads on N. W. India. The theory of the translation of the Greek poems into the Indian epics has no standing ground. So our epic composition must have preceded the Greek invasions.

3. The city of Pataliputra was built about 400 B. C. under Kalasoka and which about 350 B. C. became the capital of an empire. While the Ramayana refers to cities of Eastern Hindustan, it makes no mention of this important city. The only deduction is that the composition of the poem preceded the foundation of the city.

4. The capital of the Kosala Kingdom is called *Ayodhya* in the poem, whereas the name *Saketa* is given to it by the Buddhists and the Jains. It is said that Lava fixed his seat of Government at Sravasti. Our poem must have been composed when the old capital Ayodhya was not yet deserted and by Buddha's time the Kosala capital was under King Prasenajit of Sravasti.

5. The Ramayana speaks of Mithila and Visala as two independent principalities, whereas by Buddha's time they were united into the single city of Vaisali under an oligarchical Government.

6. The patriarchal form of Government as depicted in the

Ramayana does not contemplate the existence of complex states, while by the end of the fifth century B. C. we hear of powerful kingdoms set up in Hindustan.

7. The conquest of Ceylon by Vijaya took place in the 5th century B. C. Even before this the island was darkly known and the popular belief was that monsters and giants infested the country. The Ramayana, therefore, which makes no reference to Vijaya's conquest and represents the ruler thereof as a ten-headed monster must be as signed to an age far early in the centuries before Christ.

8. "The whole of India south of the Vindhya chain is described as one interminable forest inhabited by barbarous aborigines who are described as monkeys and bears of different kinds. The banks of the Godavari and the Krishna river were colonised by the Aryans early in the Rationalistic period and great empires like that of the Andhras rose to power and started new schools of science and learning several centuries before Christ. The Ramayana in its original shape must therefore be referred to a period long anterior to the Aryan subjugation of Southern India."—*Dutt.*

Regarding the authenticity and signification of the narrative itself, various **theories** have been advanced, of which the most important are summarised below :—

I. *Prof. Weber.*—"In the Ramayana we find ourselves from the very outset in the region of allegory and we only move upon historical ground in so far as the allegory is applied to an historical fact, *viz.*, to the spread of Aryan civilization to the south more especially to Ceylon. The characters are not

historical figures but merely personifications of certain occurrences and situations. Sita, in the first place, whose abduction by a giant demon and her subsequent recovery by her husband Rama, constitute the plot of the entire poem, is but the field-furrow to whom divine honors were paid in the songs of the Rik and in the Grihya ritual. She accordingly represents Aryan husbandry, which has to be protected by Rama—whom I regard as originally indentical with Balarama '*halabrit*' '*the plough-bearer*,' though the two were afterwards separated—against the attacks of the predatory aborigines. These latter appear to be demons and giants; whereas those natives who were well-disposed towards the Aryan civilization are represented as monkeys—a comparison which was doubtless not exactly intended to be flattering and which rests on the striking ugliness of the Indian aborigines as compared with the Aryan race."

II. *R. C. Dutt.*—"The Ramayana is utterly valueless as a narrative of historical events and incidents. The heroes are myths, pure and simple. Sita, the field-furrow, had received divine honors from the time of the Rig Veda and had been worshipped as a goddess. When cultivation gradually spread towards Southern India, it was not difficult to invent a poetical myth that Sita was carried to the south. And when this goddess and woman—the noblest creation of human imagination—had acquired a distinct and lovely individuality, she was naturally described as the daughter of the holiest and most learned King on record, Janaka of the Videhas!

"But who is Rama, described as Sita's husband and King of the Kosalas? The later Puranas tell us he was an incarnation of Vishnu—but Vishnu himself had not risen to prominence

at the time at which we are speaking! Indra was the chief of the Gods in the Epic period. In the Sutra literature we learn that Sita the furrow goddess is the wife of Indra. Is it then an untenable conjecture that Rama, the hero of the Ramayana, is in his original conception like Arjuna, the hero of the Mahabharata, only a new edition of the Indra of the Rig Veda, battling with the demons of drought? The myth of Indra has thus been mixed up with the epic which describes a historic war in Northern India, and the epic which describes the historic conquest of Southern India?"

III. *Prof. Jacobi.*—"The foundation of the Ramayana would be a celestial myth of the Veda transformed into a narrative of earthly adventures according to a not uncommon evelopment. Sita can be traced to the Rig Veda, where she ›pears as the Furrow personified and invoked as a goddess. ı some of the Grihya-sutras, she again appears as a genius of the plough-field, is praised as a being of great beauty and is accounted the wife of Indra or Parjanya the rain-god. There are traces of this origin in the Ramayana itself. For Sita is represented, as having emerged from the earth, when her father Janaka was once ploughing and at last disappears underground in the arms of the goddess Earth. Her husband Rama would be no other than Indra, and his conflict with Ravana would represent the *Indra-Vritra* myth of the Rig Veda. This identification is confirmed by the name of Ravana's son being Indrajit or Indra-Satru, the latter being actually an epithet of Vritra in the Rig Veda. Ravana's most notable feat, the rape of Sita, has its prototype in the stealing of the cows recovered by Indra. Hanumat, the chief of the monkeys and Rama's ally in the recovery of Sita, is the son of the wind-god with the patronymic Maruti and is described as flying hundreds of

leagues through the air to find Sita. Hence in his figure perhaps survives a reminiscence of Indra's alliance with the Maruts in his conflict with Vritra and the dog Sarama who as Indra's messenger crosses the waters of the Rasa and tracks the cows occurs as the name of the demoness who consoles Sita in her captivity."

The body of the work is divided into seven *Kandas*, the *Bala*, the *Ayodhya*, the *Aranya*, the *Kishkindha*, the *Sundara*, the *Yuddha* and the *Uttara*. But the plot admits of four broad landmarks, corresponding to the chief epochs in Rama's life :—

1. His youth ; his education and residence at the royal court ; his marriage ; his installation as crown prince.

2. The circumstances leading to his banishment and his exile in the forest.

3. His war with the giants and the recovery of Sita.

4. His return to Ayodhya ; his coronation ; and his re-banishment of Sita.

Whatever may have been the fanciful interpretations of modern theorists, the Epic has maintained its unity of plot and action for centuries more than twenty and it has withstood both as regards construction and proportion the intellectual onsets of keen criticism. In Baconian language, it can be said that the Ramayana has come home to the business and bosoms of all men. Influence on life is the true test of real art and that our poem has had in abundauce. Cosmogony and theogony, folklore and tradition, mythology and history

have all found a part "in the weaving of this mighty web and woof of magic drapery evolved by Valmiki." For a picture of Hindu life of the tenth century, writes Dutt, when the Kosalas and the Videhas had by long residence in the Gangetic valley become law-abiding and priest-ridden, learned and polished, enervated and dutiful, we would refer our readers to the Ramayana. The classical excellence and perspecuity of its style, the exquisite suggestions of poetic tenderness, the graphic delineations of heroic history, the deepest acquaintance with Nature's grandest scenes and the observed proportion of paragraphic classification—all this gains for Valmiki the presidential chair in the pantheon of the world's poetic geniuses.

SECTION III.

The Epics Compared.

1. **As to subject matter.**—The Mahabharata is the oldest representative of the Itihasa group, whereas the Ramayana is but a Kavya—the first of the kind.

2. Both of these have a main leading story whereon many other narratives are engrafted. But in the Mahabharata the main narrative plays a minor part, simply serving to interweave a vast collection of unconnected myths and precepts, while in the Ramayana the minor episodes never eclipse the importance of the dominant story. The solid character is never broken and the principal subject never impeded by didactic discourses or sententious maxims.

3. The epics belong to different periods and different districts. Not only was a large part of the Mahabharata composed later than the Ramayana but they belong respectively to the West and East of Hindustan.

4. The circle of territory embraced by the story of Ramayana reaches to the Videhas in the east, to the Surastras in the south-west and to the Vindhya and Dandaka in the south, and therefore more restricted in area, while the Mahabharata represents the Aryan settlers as having spread themselves to the mouths of the Ganges, to the Coromandel and the Malabar Coasts. Even Ceylon brings them tribute.

5. The religious system of the Mahabharata is far more catholic and popular. The idea of the supreme importance of the hero is not strong. Krishna is by no means the head of the Hindu pantheon. In the Ramayana, Rama's divinity is undisputed and Rama's character in a way illustrates the one-sided exclusion of Brahminism.

6. The Ramayana forms the first source of recorded information of the tenets of Hinduism as perfected by the Brahminical influence. We can discern no confusion of religious principles and the growth of spiritual ideas has reached an unmistakable position, whereas the Mahabharata reflects the mutilated character of Hinduism and a confused combination of monotheism and polytheism, of orthodox intolerance and materialistic catholicism.

7. "Notwithstanding wild ideas and absurd figments, the Mahabharata contains many more illustrations of real life and of domestic and social manners than the sister epic."

8. Though simple and natural in style and language the Mahabharata comprehends a diversity of composition, resorting at times to loose and irregular constructions and exhibiting complex grammatical forms, vedic and archaic. The bulk

of the Ramayana, on the other hand, worked up as it is by one author, presents a uniform simplicity of style and metre. "The antiquity is proved by the absence of studied elaboration of diction."

(ii) **As to their relative priority.**—Professor Weber has advanced the theory that the composition of the Mahabharata must have preceded that of the Ramayana. So also Mr. Dutt: "We must premise even as a picture of life the Ramayana is long posterior to the Mahabharata. We miss in the Ramayana the fiery valour and the proud self-assertion of the Kshatriyas of the Mahabharata and the subordination of the people to the priestly caste is more complete."

The traditional belief of the orthodox Hindus as to the decided priority of Valmiki's poem is apparently shaken by the acceptance of these theories. Tradition as it is of unhistorical people, still it is not so undefended as it may at first sight seem to be. External and internal evidence there is ample to falsify the modern theory and corroborate Indian tradition. In some cases the very words and arguments of the theorists weaken their basis. We thus sum up our defensive arguments:—

1. Clear references to the story of the Ramayana occur in the sister epic. *Sringiberapura* is considered a place of sanctity and pilgrimage because of Rama's visit thereto. Not one of the heroes named in the Mahabharata occur in the Ramayana, whereas the story of Rama is very frequently referred to in the other. In Mahabharata Book VII, two lines of Valmiki Book VI are quoted unaltered in diction. In Mahabharata Book III, a *Ramopakhyana* based on the larger epic,

some of the verses closely resembling the original, is related and Vyasa postulates that the story of Rama was too popular to need any detail.

Such direct references cannot fail to convince us of the priority of the Ramayana. But the negativists try to explain it away by the plea that *these are later interpolations*. This argument, if it can be called so, is a very useful weapon for many modern scholars when their theory can make no other stand. "When the pistol misses fire they knock you down with the butt-end of it." What does the orthodox Hindu gain by purposely interpolating unimportant references and arguing the feigned priority of the one epic to the other? If the original of the Mahabharata did not contain any references to the Ramayana, they had no business in such interpolation and they are not a whit better in their religious or spiritual beliefs. The Mahabharata loses not, nor does the Ramayana gain, a particle of their belief or regard by questions of chronological priority or posteriority. For it is in the inherent nature of the Hindu mind to disregard all questions of history. If the Ramayana had really been composed later, how is this fact accounted for—that the Mahabharata war, the most important incident as it is in the world's history, fails to have the least reference to it in Valmiki's work? Valmiki's ignorance of the Great War cannot stand as an argument. Nor can the sanctity of Kurukshetra be less conspicuous than that of *Sringiberapura*, so as to lose mention of it in a religious work as the Ramayana. Therefore it must be conclusively granted that the argument of interpolation fails, as it has neither purpose nor probability. It is however a hobby for many European critics in their study of Oriental works, whose archaic constructions are rarely palatable to their modern tastes.

2. It is an admission that the epics abound in improbable hyperboles. Ranging from the sacrifice of *Puthrakameshti* to the return of Rama to Ayodhya in the ærial car, every incident appears an evolution of the poet's intellect. The *Ramayana* represents its actors as never moving in an earthly sphere. But "in the latter" says Weber himself, "human interest everywhere predominates and a number of well-defined personages are introduced, to whom the possibility of historical existence cannot be denied......." No scholar can discern any improbability in gambling, loss of kingdom, exile and war. Besides the *Mahabharata* deals with men and not bears or monkeys. An advanced race of men can place no confidence in the story of a ten-headed monster. The earlier we peep into the world's history, the more simple and credulous the world is. So the Ramayana must have been composed when the Indian public had yet time to grow practical and reasonable.

3. Rishyasringa is represented in the *Ramayana* as a sage ever in solitude and unseen by men or women. He was born of a hind and had a horn on his head. The introduction of a mythical character like this demonstrates the antiquity of the work.

4. In the *Mahabharata Adiparvan* a house of combustibles is erected by a *Mlecha* called *Purochana* at the bidding of Duryodhana. Again Vidura, trying to reveal the conspiracy of the lac house to his friends the Pandavas, talks to them in a Mlecha tongue ununderstood by the accompanying populous. The war-portion of the same epic names not less than half a dozen Mlecha Kings taking part in the war itself (*Ref. Drona Parva* 26, 93, 119, 122). On the contrary the Ramayana

makes no such references at all and the only few allusions to the *Yavanas* do not prove alien interference in politics. The signification of 'Yavana' is not the same as that of 'Mlecha.' It is therefore safe to deduce that at the time of the Ramayana foreign influence was not felt, at any rate not enough to give the foreigners a territorial dominion in the international policy of Indian States.

5. The geographical account of Valmiki regarding Southern India denies the existence of any civilized kingdoms there. On the other hand the country South of the Vindhya range is the haunt of savage demons like Viradha and Kabandha. In the royal invitations at Dasaratha's Court no one King of Southern India has a summons, nor does Rama in his journey southwards make alliance with a civilized prince. On the other hand the Kings of Southern India have a prominent reception at the *Rajasuya* sacrifice of Yudhistira. The geographical sketch of *Bharata-varsha* as given in the *Bhishma-parva* shows a very intimate acquaintance with the advanced states of the Dekhan. Hence, since the days of the Ramayana the country has from a political point of view made a decided advance.

6. The test of archery at the marriage of Sita had better be compared with that at Draupadi-Swayamvara. The latter indicates an obvious advance in the dexterity of the test. In the construction of the army also, we see an improvement in the science of war. Rama's army knows not of varied dispositions, whereas in the Bharata war the plan of *Vyuhas* or arrays has already been devised, by means of which a small force can withstand a powerful one. The ordered supervision of the commandants, the regular signals of colored standards, the

applausive roars of victorious combatants—all these never miss a detailed delineation in the battles of the Great War. The complexity in the development of martial tactics shows a sign of a later age.

7. The encyclopædiac variety of the contents of the Mahabharata together with its vastness of knowledge in every line of science or art shows a rapid progress from the age of Valmiki. Vyasa notes law and science reduced to a system, whereas no idea of codification is discernible in the Ramayana.

8. The character of Sita is advantageously compared with hat of Draupadi. Sita is simpler and more cowardly. She khorts the reluctant Rama to permit her company to the 'oods. Draupadi musters her strength to argue the justice of Yudhistira's authority to pawn his wife when once he has enslaved himself. Sita belongs to an age of ignorance and cowardice; Draupadi of wisdom and courage. Draupadi's religious convictions are looser than the god-fearing instinct of the daughter of Janaka.

9. The rigour of patriarchal ties and institutions is palpably visible in the history of Rama. The disintegration of the presbyterian respect enjoined by Hindu canons of conduct has set in by the time of the Mahabharata. Rama is a model son, innocently submissive to paternal mandate; Bharata, the paragon of a brother; Sugriva, the standard of a friend. Rama says: नसर्वे भ्रातरस्तात भवन्ति भरतोपमाः। A sense of sincere duty animates Valmiki's characters and the pivot of Rama's victory is the truthfulness of his adherents. Quite the reverse is the case in the Mahabharata. Bhima is ready to

revolt against Yudhistira, if only he should consent to a conciliation. He is impatient to throw off the Kaurava princes, despite their promise of self-slavery on a failure at dice. Salya readily takes the side of the Kurus. Business and self-seeking overrides the feeling of truthful responsibility.

Otherwise too the age of the Mahabharata is corrupt and degenerate. For victory's sake every crime is readily committed—from false evidence and forgery to robbery and murder. Duryodhana's attempt to poison his own kinsmen or Yudhistira's abetment at Drona's murder are sufficient instances.

This state of corruption and degeneracy clearly points to a later sceptic state of society.

10. Ravana carries off Sita by force and she would not allow her to be touched by Hanuman, when he proposes to take her on his back to Rama's abode. Even after victory she has to pass through an ordeal of fire for admission to the queenship. Similarly in the Kamyaka forest Jayathratha abducts Draupadi by force and is easily received again without any test of good conduct by her husbands. Apparently Rama's contemporaries had a stricter notion of morality and wifely duty and stronger was the faith in the interposition of Providence. The relaxation in such religious and ethical beliefs proves an advance in the age of the Mahabharata.

11. Valmiki does not transmit his poem by written records. He composes it and chooses Kusa and Lava to get it by heart and to put to lyre and singing. On the other hand, Vyasa is traditionally known to have dictated his work and Ganesa put

it in writing and so the first means of transmission was in writing. The conjecture is that at the time of the composition of the Ramayana writing was unknown or the practice of writing was in its embryo.

12. Lastly the racy and elegant style of Valmiki—a sign of antiquity—contrasts itself most favourably with that of the rugged and laboured language of the Mahabharata.

These arguments, then, must suffice to convince any negativist of the futility of his theory. "The heroes of the Ramayana are somewhat tame and common place personages, very respectful to priests, very anxious to conform to the rules of decorum and etiquette......" If this were a negativist's argument, his counsel must only throw out his brief. On the contrary that very tameness of heroes and priestly domination s a sign of antiquity. When people learn to reason and rgue, priests can no longer claim predominance. Priests can only be "wits among lords" and not "lords among wits." Orthodox Hindu tradition is not after all a deception to the eyes of a sober observer.

Section IV.

The Puranas.

The Puranas now deserve attention, as constituting an important department of Sanskrit literature in their connection with the later phases of Brahminism as manifested in the religious doctrine of emanation, incarnation and triple manifestation. The term 'Purana' signifies 'old tradition' and the ancient narratives eighteen in number are said to have been compiled by the venerable sage Vyasa, the supposed founder of the Vedanta School of philosophy. The range of their

contents is encyclopædical. They are histories of Gods, as opposed to Itihasas, the histories of heroic men. The theology they teach is anything but simple, uniform or consistent.

Every Purana is supposed to treat of only five topics:—(1) The creation of the universe (2) Its destruction and re-creation (3) The geneology of Gods (4) The periods of the Manuts (5) The history of the Solar and Lunar races of Kings. It was this characteristic of a Purana that made Amarasimha call it Pancha-Lakshani. The fact, that very few Puranas now extant answer to this index of contents and that the abstract given in the Matsya Purana of the subjects of the other Puranas does not tally with the extant works, proves the theory that the modern Puranas are but recensions or epitomes of more ancient originals. The mythology of the Puranas is more developed than that of the Mahabharata.

Prof. Wilson assigns the composition of these works to a period later than the 6th century A. D. "They offer" he says "characteristic peculiarities of a more modern description, in the paramount importance which they assign to individual divinities, in the variety and purport of the rites addressed to them and in the invention of new legends illustrative of the power and graciousness of those divinities and of the efficacy of implicit devotion to them." The Professor further discovers allusions to circumstances, which make the assignment of a comparatively recent date indisputable. As a culminating remark, he adds "they were pious frauds for temporary purposes."

The deductions which occasioned the learned scholar's remarks are based on internal evidence, the authority of

which modern research questions on all sides. Sectarianism consists in the exclusive and not merely preferential worship of any divinity. The Puranas as a whole do not prohibit the worship of any god, but the sectarianism goes to the extent of recommending a particular deity in preference to all others. Passages are not rare in the Puranas, where all the deities are described as occupying an equal scale in the Hindu pantheon. Again the Professor seems to have given greater weight to the internal testimony from those passages, which he thinks have a modern appearance, than to that which results from those parts which the Puranas must have contained from their first composition, in order to entitle them to a sacred character and to that reverence with which these works have been regarded by the Hindus. But the fixing of a possible date when the Puranas received their present form is a question of little or no consequence, when it is admitted that there is abundant positive and circumstantial evidence of the prevalence of the doctrines which they teach, the currency of the legends which they narrate and the integrity of the institutions which they describe, at least three centuries before the Christian era. They cannot, therefore, be pious frauds in subservience to sectarian imposture. What more conclusive evidence of their antiquity can be required than their containing a correct description of the doctrines and institutions of the Hindu religion, which were prevalent in India three centuries before the Christian era? For it is probable more that the present Puranas are the same works as were than extant, than that eighteen persons should have each conceived 1300 years afterwards the design of writing a Purana and should have been able to compile or compose so accurately 18 different works which correspond so exactly in most of their minute particulars. Of course it must be admitted that their present form

is an adulterated one, occasioned by causes incidental to the mode of preservation and the voluminousness of the works themselves. Later accretions and interpolations there might have been and these in themselves cannot make the whole body of works modern. The language of the prose of the Vishnu Purana is quite in keeping with this view. We shall glean out a particular instance :—

अयमन्योऽस्मत्प्रत्याख्यानोपायः। वृद्धोयमनभिमतस्स्त्रीणां किमुत कन्यानामित्यमुना संचिन्त्यैतदभिहितम् । आकर्ण्य सर्वा अपिताः कन्यास्सानुरागाः समन्मयाः करेणव इवेभयूथपतिं तमृषिमहमहमिकया वरयांबभूवुः ॥ Vishnu IV.—ii—91.

These lines speak for themselves. Not the slightest artificiality is noticeable in them. The idea flows and the later figurative embellishments are seen in their embryo. This style certainly deserves to precede the period of Sudraka's. The very sources of Dandin's style are discernible here. The refined wording, the musical choice of words and the naturalness of the flow of expression are the chief characteristics of this prose and therefore the Puranas not undeservedly mark a transition from the Sutras to the Artificial Romance.

According to the traditional classification, the number of the Puranas is eighteen. They are subdivided into three classes based on the predominance of one of the three principles of external existence—*goodness*, *darkness* and *passion* :—

i. The *Satvika* puranas—Vishnu, Narada, Bhagavata, Garuda, Padma and Varaha.

ii. The *Tamasa* puranas—Matsya, Kurma, Linga, Saiva, Skanda and Agni.

iii. The *Rajasa* puranas—Brahmanda, Vaivarta, Markandeya, Bhavishyat and Brahma.

The first two groups chiefly devote themselves to the commendation of Vishnu and Siva, while the third promotes the claims of individual forms as Krishna, Devi and Ganesa. The present Puranas are numbered at 400,000 couplets.

The Upapuranas have the same characteristics as the Puranas. One of them contains the episode of Adhyatma Ramayana, supposed to be a spiritual version of Valmiki's poem. The **Tantras** are a later development of the doctrines of the Puranic creed. They are the writings of *saktas* or votaries of the female energies of some divinity, mostly the wife of Siva. Such ideas are not altogether absent in the Puranic works. But in the Tantras they assume a peculiar character owing to the admixture of magic performances and mystic rites of perhaps an indelicate nature. Amarasimha knows not of them. Among these are the *Kularnava*, *Syamalarahasya* and *Kalikatantra*.

CHAPTER IV.

THE KAVYAS OR ARTIFICIAL EPICS.

The Ramayana stands at the head of the Kavya branch of Sanskrit literature. In its composition it answers in every minute detail to the description of a Mahakavya as defined by Poetics. In perfection or in spontaneity the later poems can in no way compare themselves favourably with the work of Valmiki. The Mahabhashya of Patanjali has literary evidence

to show that the Kavya literature was eminently flourishing during the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era.

The earliest poem next to that of Valmiki that has survived the wreck of time is the **Buddha-Charita** of **Asvaghosha**. He was a brahmin of Eastern India, who after his conversion by Vasumitra, the President of the Buddhistic council, settled in Kashmir and became the twelfth Buddhist patriarch.* He was a contemporary of Kanishka and so belongs to the first century A. D. His Buddha-charita is a Maha Kavya celebrating the legend of Buddha. It was translated into Chinese about A. D., 414—421. He is also the reputed author of *Alankàralèka Sàstra.* His style is very simple and graceful and seems immediately descended from the language of Valmiki and the mischievous artificialities of later works are not at all noticeable. There is so much of similarity between his fancies and Kalidasa's that many scholars are of opinion that one of these must have copied from the other.

Here comes the Dark Age in the history of Kavya poetry. For centuries more than three, no work of the kind survived to us, so that this datum became the foundation of the famous Renaissance Theory of Max Muller—that in consequence of the Scythian incursions the Indians ceased from literary activity for some centuries and that the age of King Vikramaditya of Ujjain about the middle of the 6th century was the golden age of Sanskrit poetry. The merits of the theory itself as based on Fergusson's hypothesis will be discussed in a later chapter. But epigraphical research in recent years has brought to light a mass of literary work, which

* His sermons were so impressive that horses shed tears and would not eat fodder before him. Hence his name.

clearly disproves the theory of a sudden paucity in literature. Under Samudra Gupta, the second of the Gupta line, about 350 A. D., the poet **Harisena** composed a panegyric, partly of prose and partly of poetry, which for its simplicity and gracefulness of language rivals Kalidasa and Dandin. The prose portion is full of long compounds and the poetry follows the Vaidarbhi style. Again during the reign of Bandhuvarman about A. D. 437, **Vatsabhatti** commemorated in a recorded inscription the consecration of the temple at Dasapura. The passage reveals its own beauty in thought and language, at any rate compatible only with the conjecture that a rich Kavya literature was in full activity before the advent of Kalidasa.

Kalidasa forms to us the first of a series Kavya writers that have contributed to the development of a vast artificial poetry. Regarding the private life of Kalidasa, no tradition can pass uninjured through the ordeal of historical test. He has been spoken of as a contemporary of a Vikrama or a Bhoja. A discussion of the age of Kalidasa is for the present deferred to the Chapter on the dramatic literature. A boor as he was by birth, he became an inspired poet by the grace of Kali. Hence his name. In this sense he may parallel the English Caedmon. Caedmon sang of philosophy or cosmogony; Kalidasa of mythical tales of love. Caedmon appeared at almost the dawn of the Anglo Saxon literature; Kalidasa, when the Sanskrit tongue was at the zenith of perfection.

The Raghuvamsa—a long poem of nineteen cantos—narrates the history of Rama with an account of some of his immediate ancestors and successors. Rama's actual history

begins in the tenth and ends with the fifteenth canto. The poem closes rather abruptly with the death of the voluptuous Agnimitra. The tradition is that the poem is longer than it really now is. Indigenous Indian scholars opine that the sequel to the history of the Raghu-race has been lost to us. Kalidasa's works generally have a natural conclusion and the rhetorical canons enjoin either a benediction or a happy completion of the story at the conclusion of a poem. The last canto presents to us the widowed Queen of Agnivarma on the throne in trust for a posthumous prince, whose history we know not. The people are anxiously awaiting the birth of a prosperous prince. This curiosity our poem does not abate. Certainly Kalidasa was not the poet to leave his work open to rightful criticism. He was more aesthetic and delicate in his tastes. " His object might have been to connect some one of the dynasties of Kings existing in his time with the race anciently descended from the Sun." Either Kalidasa could not finish his poem or the work has not descended to us in its entirety.

The Kumara-Sambhava—another poem of 17 cantos—opens with the courtship and wedding of Siva and Uma and concludes with the destruction of the demon Taraka by Kumara or the War-God. In short the Birth of the War-God is the subject of the poem.

Kalidasa's poems have been taken as a standard of poetic perfection and natural melody. His similies are apt and striking and it needs no effort to understand him. The story of the Raghuvamsa has more matter and has consequently to avoid all detail and to run fast over the narration. The story of the Kumara-Sambhava has less stuff and necessarily affords the

poet free scope for his artistic painting and delineation. Imagery and description find a longer pace in the latter. The language generally is free from verbal jugglery and enigmatic conceits. Kalidasa is therefore an epitome of the age of poetic perfection in India.

Dhanesvara's Satrunjaya-Mahatmya—a poem of 14 cantos—was composed at Valabhi under King Siladitya (605-615 A.D.). It consists for the most part of popular folk-lore and legend and there is little of history in it.

Bharavi's Kiratarjuniya, a poem of 18 cantos, describes the fight between Arjuna and Siva in the garb of a mountaineer. The last cantos are occupied with the description of the battle proper. Bharavi describes the Maharashtra country and so he may have belonged thereto. But this has not been verified. His name is mentioned along with Kalidasa's in an inscription dated Saka 556 (A.D., 634). Besides in an inscription of 776 A.D., mention is made of Prithivi Kongani, whose fifth ancestor Durvinita wrote a commentary on Bharavi's poem. Allowing about 100 years for the interval from the accession of King Kongani (726 A.D.), Durvinita must have reigned about 620 A.D. It is reliable, therefore, that Bharavi's work to have become popular and famous by this date must have been composed in the latter half of *the sixth century*. His nice similes drawn from nature's art are very amusing. His language cannot be called easy or simple.* Mallinatha calls it '*Narikela-paka*.' His style compares itself with that of Magha and has been the standard of vigour and gravity.

* The fifteenth canto illustrates all kinds of verbal gymnastics as described in Dandin's Kavyadarsa.

Kumaradasa's Janakiharanam a poem of 15 cantos opens with a description of Ayodhya and carries the tale in detail up to Rama's marriage. The rest of the story is disposed of in a few chapters. The author was a King of Ceylon of the *6th century* A. D. and son of Moudgalyayana.

Bhatti's Ravana-vadha, a peom of 22 cantos, relates the story of Rama. The question of the identity of Bhatti and Bhartrihari is not finally settled. The negativists say that the confusion arose from the fact that Bhatti is a prakritised form of Bhartri. The poet was patronised by Sri Dharasena of Vallabhi, who is referred to as a *Maharajaadhiraj*. From the fact that the Vallabhi Kingdom was never free from vassalage except under Dharasena IV (641-651 A. D.), it is conjuctured that our poet flourished somewhere about this time. The so-called poem aims at illustrating the intricate grammatical forms based on the aphorisms of Panini and the minute quibbles of rhetorical devices, yet the language shows out his readiness of vocabulary and the perfectness of grammatical studies. With all its defects the poem does not miss occasional lines noted for lyrical beauty and poetic fancy.

Harichandra's Dharmasarmabhyudaya, a long poem of 21 cantos, describes the life of Dharmanatha, the fifteenth Thirthakara. The author was the son of Ardradeva and a Kayastha of the Digambara Jain sect. Rajasekhara alludes to him in the first act of Kurpuramanjari and the work must therefore fall somewhere about the *eighth century* A. D.

Abhinanda's Kadambarikathasara epitomises the story of Bana's Kadambari in verse. The author was born in Kashmir, but seems to have lived in the Gauda country. His

fourth ancestor Saktiswamin is mentioned at the court of Muktapida (726 A. D.). His patron was the Yuvaraja Haravarsha of the family of Dharmapala. The Lochana of the 10th century refers to it and so our poet must have lived in the *9th century*.

The Kapphanabhyudaya is a rare poem still in manuscript form. The author calls himself **Bhattasiva Swamin** and is identical with the poet quoted in the Subhashitavali of Vallabhadeva. He was one of the poets of the court of Avantivarman of Kashmir (855-884 A. D.). It is a Mahakavya and closely resembles Magha's work in diction and style.

Ratnakara's Haravijaya—A long poem of 50 cantos. The author was a Kashmirian poet and according to Kalhana (Raj. V., 34) became famous under Avantivarman (855-884 A. D.) ; but his own statement that he was a servant Brihaspati, *i.e.* Jayapida (779-813) would place him earlier. His other works are *Vakrokti-panchasika* and *Dhwanigathapanchika*, of which the former is a collection of crooked sayings in the form of a dialogue between Siva and Parvati.

Magha is represented according to the Bhoja-prabandha as a contemporary of King Bhoja of Dhar. Anandavardhana of the 9th century quotes him and Magha himself refers to Jinendrabuddhi. This latter datum assigns the poet to a period not later than the 9th century and no earlier than the 6th. The period of Magha's activity, says Duff, would be about 860 A. D. The poet calls himself the son of Dattaka and grandson of Suprabha. Only one work of his, the **Sisupala-vadha**, has come down to us. A Mahakavya of 20 cantos, it has maintained its place as a classical poem through these

centuries. At times the thoughts are voluptuous, but everywhere his width of knowledge is apparent. In style he compares with Bharavi and is less stiff than Harsha. Its plot relates to Krishna's slaying of Sisupala. The Rajasuya sacrifice of Yudhistira is described wherein Sisupala's misconduct to Krishna—the immediate cause of the war—is carefully delineated. The three last cantos are solely devoted to the actual warfare.

Kaviraja's Raghava-Pandaviya—a poem celebrating the story of the Kosalas and Kauravas at the same time. The ideas are founded on the choice of words and the paranomasia on them. The poet's history is utterly in the dark, but he appears to have flourished about the beginning of the *9th century*. The name Kaviraja appears to be an epithet rather than the name proper. Duff's chronology makes Srutakirti the author of the poem whose name is mentioned in an inscription dated 1130 A. D. In that case the poem must be assigned to about the 10th or 11th centuries.

Padmagupta's Navasahasankacharita is a poem written in honor of Sindhuraja. The author was a poet-laureate under the Parama King Munja (974—995) and Sindhuraja (995—1010) and so the work was composed about the end of the *10th century.*

Bilhana was born in the village of Konamukha near Pravarapura, of Jyestakalasa and Nagadevi in the race of the Kausikas. Passing the career of education at Kashmir, he dwelt near Mathura engaged in playful disputes with the Pandits of Brindavan. He had made a special study of grammar and poetics and now began his tour to distant royal

courts. Having visited Dahala (Bundlekhand) and Oudh, he performed his devotions at Somnath. His tour extended South to Rameswara, when he turned back and finally there Vikrama gave him the place of Vidyapati in his Court at Kalyan. *The third and the fourth quarters of the 11th century* embrace in all probability the career of Bilhana. For,

(i) The two Kings Ananta and Kalasa referred to by Bilhana as having passed away before him did according to General Cunningham reign from 1028 to 1088 A. D.

(ii) The story as related in the Vikrama Charita concludes with a Chola war and is silent as regards the expedition of 1088 beyond the Narmada.

(iii) Kalhana says (Raj. VII, 936) that Bilhana lived to see Harsha, son of Kalasa on the throne.

(iv) Bilhana mentions Karna of Dahala as his patron, whose kingdom was destroyed by Somesvara I. The latter died about 1069. Bilhana's reference must therefore be dated earlier.

(v) Bilhana speaks of Bhoja of Dhar as a contemporary to whom he omitted to pay a visit.

The Vikramankadevacharita, a Mahakavya in 18 cantos, describes the life of the poet's patron Vikrama. His other work the *Chaurapanchasika* describes his company with a royal princess Sasilekha whose tutor he was and with whom he had a Gandharva intrigue. His drama *Karnasundari* will find a place in a later chapter.

As a poet Bilhana ranks high. The difficulty of transforming history into poetry did really mar his high poetic merits,

but still his Panchasika has much of genuine feeling, poetic fancy and musical harmony. "Really beautiful passages occur in every canto. One of the most touching is the description of Ahavamalla's death. Bilhana's verse is musical and flowing and his language simple. He professes to write in the *Vaidarbhariti.*"

Kshemendra is known to have flourished in Kashmir under the patronage of King Ananta. He was a Saivate in his earlier years until he was converted into a Vaishnava Bhagavata by the instructions of Somacharya. He underwent his poetic studies under the famous Abhinavagupta. His *Samayamatrika*, a poem describing the arts and tricks of women, on the plan of Kuttinimatam, gives the date of its composition as the 25th year of the Kashmirian cycle in 1050 A. D. His *Chitrabharata* is a drama obviously based on the wonders of the Great War. *Lavanyavati* and *Muktavali* are known to be short poems. *Dasavatara-charita* describes the story of the ten incarnations of Vishnu. *Chaturvargasangraha* is a concise exposition of the whole dictum of the four great motives of human activity. Besides his work was one of epitomes of more voluminous books. His *Bharatamanjari* summarises in easy poetry the eighteen parvams of Vyasa's work, thereby indicating to us that at his time the Mahabharata had a form similar to that we have to-day. So does his *Ramayana manjari*. *Brihatkathamanjari* translates into sanskrit poetry the original of Gunadhya's, supposed to have been written in the Paisachi language. His summaries are clearly woven and even the minor incidents of the original have at least an indirect reference. His language does not display much of the later poetic decay and his poetry does in many instances resemble that of Bilhana.

Jalhana's Somapalavilasa is a poem describing the life of King Somapala of Rajapuri near Kashmir. This king was defeated by Sussala in 1118 A. D. and the work must be assigned to the first half of the *twelfth century*. He is referred to as a contemporary by Mankha and as the author of a short poem called *Mugthopadesa*.

Abhayadeva's Jayantavijayam is a poem in 19 cantos. The author was a pupil of Vijayachandra and third in succession to Jinasekharasuri, who flourished about samvat 1204, (1148 A. D.)

Sri Harsha was born of Heera and Mamalladevi. His father was a court-pandit of King Vijayachandra of Kanouj. Routed in a competition by a fellow poet, his father retired from public service and importuned his son on his death-bed to avenge his disgrace. Entrusting his family cares to his kinsmen, Harsha proceeded to educate himself and in a few years was master of *Chintamani mantram*, kindly communicated to him by a venerable sage on the Ganges. Thereby he could withstand any opponents in learning and his thought and language could flow unceasingly. He visited the royal court again and composed the Naishadhiya-charita at the king's request. The work then met with the wide approval of the learned assemblies of Kashmir and honored by a personal acceptance by the Sarasvati on the *peetham* there. He bore the title of *Narabharati*. The jealous queen who called herself Kalabhariti could not bear this and attempted to disgrace Harsha, whereupon he resorted to the banks of the Ganges to spend the rest of his life as an ascetic. Jayantachandra ruled over Kanouj in *the 12th century* and necessarily Harsha must have flourished about the same time. External evidence besides this amply justifies this conclusion :—

(i) No genuine edition of the Sarasvati-kantabharana quotes any of Harsha's verses.

(ii) Rajasekhara, the younger, assigns the composition of the poem to somewhere about 1174 A. D., for Jayachandra's minister's pilgrimage to Somnath was later than Harsha's return from Kashmir.

(iii) Chanda's Prithiviraja-rasau, which has been understood as describing Harsha as a predecessor of Kalidasa, must have been composed far later than the Prabandhakosa, perhaps in the 14th century. The interpretation put on Chanda's wording is not at all acceptable.

(iv) Rajasekhara's account of Jayantachandra closely tallies with Harsha's hints and references.

(v) The Naishadha-dipika, a commentary by Chandu, is dated A. D. 1296 and calls the poem '*navam*' or new.

The **Naishadhiyacharitam** is a Mahakavya of the highest renown in all India. It describes the story of Nala, the king of Nishadha; his love to Damayanti, the Vidarbha princess; his message through a swan; Damayanti's marriage by self-choice with all its vicissitudes; and her happy company at the royal palace. The extant work contains twenty-two cantos, where it seems to be complete. Tradition carries it further to the length of 60 or 120 cantos. It is hoped that the rest of the work is still hidden in some of the unransacked libraries. The work is a masterpiece of Harsha. His ideas, though at times far-fetched, are yet fine and imaginative. All mythology is at his fingers' ends. Rhetoric he rides over. He sees no end to the flow of his description. Still we cannot see in him that ease or falicity of expression that is characteristic of Sudraka or Kalidasa. To the best learned pandit his language

is often a stumbling block. He displays his all-round mastery in every situation and as a Mahakavya his work is the standard of perfection. Among his other works are *Khandana-Khadya*, a destructive critique on the works of Udayana, also a contemporary court-pandit of Heera ; *Gaudorvisakula-prasasti* and *Chandaprasasti*, both of which are panegyrics on his royal patrons ; *Arnavavarnana*, a long description of the beauties and traditions of the ocean ; *Sivabhakti-Siddhi*, a religious work devoted to the worship of Siva ; and *Sahasankacharita*, a Champu kavya devoted to the life of a Gauda King of that name.

Mankha's Srikanthacharita is a poem in 25 cantos, describing the destruction of the Three Cities by Rudra. The whole of the first canto is devoted to benediction and not one deity escapes his salutation. The style is rugged and harsh. Many of Mankha's stanzas have a double meaning and the poetical ideas are rarely distinct. His learning and mastery of the Sanskrit language is however wonderful.

His birth-place was Kashmir. His brother Alankara, a poet too, was the minister of Sussala and Jayasimha and another brother Sringara held the office of *Brihattantradhipati*. Ruyyaka was his Guru. He wrote his poem probably between 1135 and 1145 A. D. His work forms a landmark in literary history. In one of the later cantos he refers to a number of his contemporary poets of whom principally were Kalhana and Jalhana.

Hemachandra was born at Dhunduka on the full moon of Karthika Samvat 1145 (A.D. 1088). His father was Chachiga-sreshti and mother Pahini. During the father's absence a monk Devendrasuri by name came home and demanded the

young child of five years for an entry into the monastic order. The mother willingly gave him away and he was initiated under the name of Changadeva. On a tour of pilgrimage he stayed at Karnavati in the house of Udayanamantri. His father who ran in quest of him found that his child had already realised the essence of an ascetic's life. As a test he put his hand in the blazing fire and instantly the bony arm was turned to gold ; hence his appellation Hemachandra. He had a respectable reception and patronage at the court of the Chalukya Kings of Anhilvid in Guzerat where he spent the rest of his life till his death in 1173 A. D. He was almost a minister at the royal durbar and through his influence Jainism was encouraged and *Viharas* to the number 1400 were constructed. Laws against cruelty to animals were enacted and meat consumption was prohibited. However his partiality to Brahminism is said to have been equally praise-worthy. His **Kumarapala-charita** is a long poem, the first twenty cantos of which are sanskrit and the last eight prakrit. Hence it was called *Dvyasrayakavya.* The history of Anhilvid princes is given in detail, ending in an enthusiastic appreciation of King Kumarapala. The work appears to have solely been written to illustrate Hemacharya's Sutras. Besides Hemachandra is a grammarian, rhetorician and lexicographer. Among his works are *Abhidhana-Chintamani*, *Desinamamala*, *Anekarthamala*, *Chhandonusasana* and *Alankara-Chudamani.*

Vasudeva's Yudhisthiravijaya has 8 chapters. A pupil of Bharathiguru, the author flourished under Kulasekhara of *the 12th century* A. D. (Ind. Ant. VI, 143.)

Amarachandra's Balabharata narrates the story of the Mahabharata in the order of the *Parvans.* The author was

a pupil of Jinadatta or Vagbhata. He became a genius by his Saraswata-japa. At the court of Visaladeva of Gujrat (1244-1262) he proved himself a most powerful poet and thenceforward he stayed there alone. He wrote also *Chandoratnavali and Jinendracharitam.* He therefore flourished about *the middle of the 13th century.*

Viranandi's Chandraprabhacharita is a poem of 17 cantos. It begins with a description of King Kanakaprabha and his line and closes with Indra's incarnation as Jina. The last canto summarises the tenets of the Jain religion. The author must have lived somewhere near Gujrat and his latest date cannot be above *the 13th century.*

Krishnananda's Sahridayananda is a poem giving an account of Nala, King of Nishadha. He was a Kayastha Sandhi-Vigrahika. He is quoted in the Sahitya-darpana and is known to have commented on the Naishadhiyacharita. He must therefore be assigned to about the *13th century.*

Somesvara was a native of Guzarat and belonged to a class of royal priests. He flourished between 1179-1262 A D., under King's Bhimadeva and Visaladeva. His *Kirtikaumudi* describes the greatness of a Chalukya prince. His *Surathotsavam* is a poem in 15 cantos, narrating the history of Suratha of the Chaitra race. The description of the Hymalayas is most delightful. The killing of Sumbha and Dhumralochana is most vividly depicted. The style follows Bilhana as also the narration. His *Ramasatakam* is devoted to the praise of Rama.

Vedanta Desika was born in 4369 year of Kali and lived 108 years. Thus his period was between 1268 and 1376

A. D.—the times of the Muslim invasions of the Dekhan. His scholastic career was over when he was barely twenty and his life for the rest was one of ceaseless literary activity. His collected works number about 121—separate treatises of which only eight are literary works proper. The *Yadavabhyudaya*, a long epic after the manner of Kalidasa's work, describes the advent and life of Sri Krishna. The *Rughuvira-gadya* is a short prose poem. The *Paduka-sahasra*, a series of one thousand verses in praise of Rama's Sandals, was composed in a single night in a competitive literary duel. Desika's work was more in the field of Logic and Thelogy. He was the follower of the Ramanuja School of Vedanta philosophy. His memorable work for the Vaishnava Sect has made him a saint of their Church and his image is worshipped to this day. He was at home in every branch of art or literature ; so much so he was named a '*Sarva-tantra-svatantra.*' "Great as Desika was as a scholar and poet, yet from the point of view of universal literature, we cannot well say there is much of originality either in the choice of his subjects or in his manner of treating them. Perhaps this was largely a fault with all the writers of Sanskrit during that period. Yet our author's works are characterised by fluency of style and command over the force and fecundity of language not easily met with in latter-day scholarship."

Chandrachuda was the son of Purushottama Bhatta. He must have flourished near Benares about *the end of the 15th century*. His *Kartavirya-Vijayam*—a long poem of 14 cantos—describes the story of Kartavirya. The descriptions are in the style of Harsha's but the language not so stiff or obscure. He has a greater grace and melody about his verse.

Govinda-makhin was born of Sri Dhalli and Kuppamba in the race of Sandilya. He was patronised by one Achyuta-bhupala and himself in his later life was the minister of Kondama-Naik. The small *mantapams* he caused to be constructed by that prince are still to be seen on the banks of the Kaveri near Kumbakonam. His name is likewise associated with the gifts of many *Agraharams*. Once when he was dwelling in the *Madhyarjunakshetra* he had an interview with Appayya-dikshit, who highly pleased by the learning of Govinda condescended to comment on his *Kalpataru*, an epitome of the *Shad-darsani*. Hence Govinda must be assigned partly to the latter half of the 16th and partly to the former of the 17th century. His *Harivamsasara-charitam*, a long poem of 23 cantos, describes the story as related in the Harivamsa. His language especially in this poem is unstrained and natural. We miss here the tediousness of the original and the story is presented to us in a most palatable and attractive poetry.

Venkatesvara was the son of Srinivasa. He was a Vaishnavite by religion and of the Atreya clan. Born near Kanchi in 1595 A. D., he lived for more than fifty years. The exact date of his demise is not known. His *Ramachandrodayam* is a long poem of thirty cantos describing the history of Rama —which on his own authority was composed at Benares in the fortieth year of his life, *i.e.*, 1635 A. D. The poet himself sums up his story :

"आसीतेशाभिषेकादुदितशुभकथं त्रिंशता यत्तु सर्गैः ।
तस्मिन्रामाभिषेकाभ्युदयशुभकथस्त्रिंश आभाति सर्गः ॥"

Nilakantha was a descendant of the famous Appayya-dikshit. His father was Narayana and mother Bhumidevi.

He had four brothers all well-versed in Sanskrit learning and all of them gifted with the poetic muse. He was a staunch Saivite by religion and he was best at the Srikantha philosophy. His *Nilakanthavijayam*, a champu kavya, has the date of its composition :—

"अष्टात्रिंशदुपस्कृतसप्तशताधिकचतुस्सहस्त्रेषु ।
कलिवर्षेषु गतेषु ग्रथितः किल नीलकण्ठविजयोऽयम् ॥"

This year 4138 of Kali corresponds to 1637 A.D. Therefore Nilakantha must doubtless have flourished in the first half of the 17th century. His *Sivalilarnava* is a long poem of 22 cantos describing the history and actions of Siva. It comprehends in itself all the legends that make up the whole range of Siva's incarnation. His *Gangavatarana*—a poem of eight cantos—describes the story of the descent of the celestial Ganges to the human world by the efforts of Bhagiratha. Among his minor poems may be mentioned *Kalividambanam*, *Sabharanjanam* and *Anyapadesa-Satakam*. As a poet, Nilakantha ranks high. His fancies are highly imaginative, his sentiments fine and his language natural. His style has been thus described: "मञ्जुलपदसन्निवेशा विचित्रोल्लेखा रसानिर्भराविशङ्कटप्रवाहा चास्य साहित्यसरणिः"

Laxmipati was the fourth son of Visvarupa. He flourished in the troubled times consequent on the death of Aurangzeb. His *Avadullacharitam* is a long poem on the life of the King-maker Sayyid Abdulla. It presents no division into sargas or chapters. There is a frequent influx of Persian words due to the contact with the Muhamadan public.

CHAPTER V.

THE INDIAN DRAMA.

Drama is the image of history, the poetry of the present where the past and future meet. It is likewise a poetical embodiment of universal history. The object of the drama is, to quote Shakespeare, "to hold as it were the mirror up to nature, to show virtue her own feature, scorn her own image and the very age and body of the time, her form and pressure." Epic poetry represents past history only as a passive fact, merely reporting what has taken place. Every action it relates appears a determined fact unalterable in itself over which man has no control. The purpose served by the drama is unique in itself. No other form of poetry can give a vivid and impressive picture of the nature of man, of the external world and of the relation subsisting between man and the external world.

A central idea in every drama is the first requisite, all other ctions and events being duly subordinated to it. The different scenes and acts of a drama must have their end in leading the audience gradually towards a definite goal. Besides this central idea a moral ideal must be present. The sole purpose ought to be the elevation of character through the inculcation of sound morals and the illustration of their benefits. The subject of a drama is but action, and actions are inconceivable without ethical conditions. Hence the inevitable result is that most dramas, whether intended by the poet or not, are nvested with a moral ideal. "The Hindu drama, like the Elizabethan, bursts on us in full flush of perfection, and its beginnings, the unskilled stammerings of the voice which charm us with its plenitude of harmony, are lost to us. The natural cause for this seems to be the printing press which

creates an artificial immortality and embalms for the bewilderment of future generations the still-born efforts of an infant muse." The invention of the Indian dramatic entertainments is usually ascribed to Bharata Muni, but according to others they had a still more elevated origin and the art having been gathered from the Vedas by Brahma was by him communicated to the Muni. This is on its face a legend. Three theories have been advanced as to **the origin of the Sanskrit Drama** :—

1. It had its origin in *religious solemnities and spectacles*. But as the most ancient of the dramas treat of civil life and never speak of religious ceremonies and as allegorical dramas after the manner of the English moralities were of very late growth in the Sanskrit theatre, we must premise that this theory can have no foundation.

2. Professor Weber supposes that the Sanskrit drama had its beginnings "*in the influence of the Greeks wielded on the Hindus*." This is a mere conjecture and the statement proves no settled opinion on the part of the learned theorist, who in the very next sentence writes "no internal connection, however, with the Greek drama exists."

The Sanskrit drama had unmistakably an indigenous origin. It had begun to be cultivated from the sixth century B. C. and passed into lethargy by the fourteenth century A. D. No historical records point to any relations between the Greeks and the Hindus prior to Alexander's invasion. The few traditions that have come down to us regarding the matter are too vague and uncertain to warrant us in drawing any sound conclusion. The very fact that the Indian drama began

to be cultivated in the sixth century B. C., sufficiently proves that it could not have had any Greek origin.

Another objection is perhaps graver. Dramas are classified by modern critics, Schlegel among others, into *classical* and *romantic*. The Greek tragedy belongs to the classical type, whereas the Sanskrit drama is by universal consent admitted to be romantic. Conceding for a moment the possibility of the Greek origin, is it conceivable that the copy would be so utterly different from the original? They belong to two opposite schools utterly alien to each other in construction, taste and sentiment.

A third objection appears to be more natural. In the ordinary course of things science or art with a foreign origin must be expected to have some borrowed terminology. The most striking example is seen in the case of Indian Astronomy. The Hindus found it impossible to borrow the principles of Greek astronomy without the words in which they were clothed. More than this two separate works called the Romaka and Yavana siddhantas have a distinct place assigned to them in the Indian astronomical literature. No such transference of technical terms we can discern in the case of the drama. Except the allegation that the word *Yavanika* is a derivative from Yavana, the science of Indian dramaturgy makes use of technical terms of pure indigenous origin. Regarding the allegation itself, Indian etymologists derive the term from the root युमि भ्रमणे, the sense being that Yavanika is so called from the fact of the actors assembling behind it. Moreover the word *Yavana* has not been universally accepted as a synonym for the Greeks. It has a widest application and perhaps an indiscriminate one. Hence the

mere existence of the word *Yavanika*, exhibiting by chance a formative resemblance to a term vague in itself, can carry no weight with it. Lastly, all institutions, sciences or arts that have their origin in religion are admittedly home-sprung. The Sanskrit drama as invariably written and exhibited at religious festivals and congregations cannot have a foreign origin.

These theories are obviously advanced at random to dishonour the half-refined capabilities of primitive Indians and the natural tendencies of their time-honoured institutions. No wonder, therefore, they have as usual sought their way back to their original sources and are now no more rewarded than with oblivion and ignominy.

3. *Music*, dialogue, gesticulation and imitation may be confidently asserted the precursors of Sanskrit drama, be it on a secular or religious basis.

Music in its theoretical as well as its practical aspect may be traced in India as far as the Vedic age. Men who presided at sacrifices and those who witnessed them were not satisfied with the dull incantations of the Hotris or with the monotonous recitations of the Adhvaryus. Something to charm the people, something to elevate their imagination was the need. And this want was soon supplied by the formation of a third class of priests called Udgatris. Their business at sacrifices was to chant the Saman which was totally borrowed from the Rig Veda and was adapted to singing. Thus the primeval cultivation of the science and art of music is to be found in the Samaveda.

Dialogue, being an impressive form of composition, was often employed in the Vedic, Epic, and Rationalistic periods

of Sanskrit Literature. In the Rig Veda we occasionally find conversations between supernatural beings and Rishis. As examples, the conversation of Indra, Agastya and Maruts, and the dialogue between Yama and Yami, may be mentioned. The epics may be called actual dialogues, the whole of the Mahabharata being composed in the form of a dialogue between Suta and his disciples. The Upanishads contain many dialogues of which the pathetic conversation between Yajnavalkya and his wife Maitreyi on the occasion of their mutual separation, may be pointed out as an instance.

Gesticulation is one of the instruments by which languages are formed. Though gestures cannot express with the same degree of fecility all that can be expressed by language, they are the rude beginnings of every language. Even the most polished languages of the world, not to speak of the uncultivated jargons, cannot dispense with the use of gestures or bodily eloquence, whether it be for a rhetorical purpose or for the purpose of the speaker's understanding. Thus we see the use of gesticulation is a natural and primary instinct of the human race. All acting includes the use of gestures. The laws of gesticulation deduce from observation what is appropriate for the expression of particular sentiments of the human mind, of particular ages of life and character, and of peculiar characteristics of nationality.

The fourth element which has contributed to the formation of the drama is *imitation*. The art of imitation is an innate faculty without which man would not have been what he is. In childhood and youth this faculty is in the highest activity, while in manhood it lies dormant, and in old age becomes sterile. Our mother-tongue as well as our manners and

actions are acquired by imitation. The method of dramatic art is imitation in the way of action.

"In all likelihood, the germ of the dramatic representations of the Hindus as of the Greeks is to be sought for in public exhibitions of dancing, which consisted at first of simple movements of the body executed in harmony with singing and music. Very soon dancing was extended to include pantomimic gesticulations accompanied with more elaborate musical performances, and these gesticulations were aided by occasional exclamations between the intervals of singing. Finally natural language took the place of music and singing, while gesticulation became merely subservient to emphasis in dramatic dialogue." (*Monier Williams*).

The terms denoting the drama and acting are derived from the same root '*nat.*' Besides the fact of the identity of derivation, the Dasarupa says, "Acting is the imitation of conditions ; *Rupa* is so called because it is to be seen, and *Rupaka* from the artificial assumption of forms by actors." Corresponding to the several stages in the development of Sanskrit dramas, five modes of early dramatic representation are noted :—

(i) *Natya* or dramatic representations proper.

(ii) *Nritya* or gesticulation without language.

(iii) *Nritta* or pure dancing without any admixture of gesture or language.

(iv) & (v) *Tandava* and *Lasya* : These were merely styles of dancing, the former being so named from Tandu an attendant of Siva whom the God instructed in it, while the other was "taught by Parvati to the princess Usha, who instructed the Gopis of Dwaraka,

१. पाराशर्यशिलालिभ्यां भिक्षुनटसूत्रयोः।४।३।११०॥ शिलालिना प्रोक्तं नटसूत्र-
मधीयते - शैलालिनो नटाः॥
२. कर्मन्दकृशाश्वादिनिः।४।३।१११॥ कृशाश्वेन प्रोक्तं नटसूत्रमधीयते-
कृशाश्विनो नटाः॥

and by them communicated to the women of Sourashtra the art passed to the females of various regions."

Section II.

The date of the origin.

The earliest reference to works on dramatic representations is made by Panini, from which we may infer that at least two works on Natyasutra by *Silalin*[1] and *Krisaswa*[2] must have existed in his time.

Goldstucker decides that Panini lived in the sixth century B. C. which must also be the latest date of the Natyasutras. Besides we have another testimony afforded by the sacred books of the Buddhists. There it is stated that two disciples of Buddha witnessed dramatic representations.

The negative evidence is to be adduced from the absence of certain antecedents. Sanskrit ceased to be the *lingua franca* of the Aryans at least before Buddha's time from the fact the Buddha preached his religion in Pali or Prakrit. One reason why Sanskrit dramas are polylingual may be sought for in the fact that the poets desired to make them intelligible to the uneducated masses. The very fact of the introduction of Prakrit establishes the statement that the men who were first inspired by the dramatic muse had borrowed their initiative from Buddhist practices.

Mritchakatika is the most ancient drama, extant, being assigned at the latest to the 1st century B. C. Examining the simplicity of diction and the development of the plot therein,

it is absurd to suppose that it was the first drama that ever came out of a Sanskrit poet's hands. It is like arguing that Ben Jonson was the first English dramatist, Panini the first Sanskrit grammarian or Vergil the first Latin poet. In the absence of anything urged to the contrary, we must clearly conclude that the drama ascribed to the royal author Sudraka is the result of a long and laborious cultivation of the scence and art of dramaturgy at least from the 6th century B.C., to which period we have referred the Natyasutras.

Section III.

The Dramatic Arrangement.

Every drama opens with a prelude or introduction, in which the audience are made acquainted with the author, his work, the actors, and such part of the prior events as is necessary for the spectators to know. The actors of the prelude were never more than two, the manager and one of his company, either an actor or actress, and they led immediately into the business of the drama. The first part of this introduction is termed the *Purva-ranga* and opens with a prayer, invoking in a benedictory formula the protection of some deity in favour of the audience. This is termed the *Nandi*, or that which is the cause of gratification to men and gods. There is a difference of opinion as to who recites the *Nandi*, and the commentator on the *Mudra-Rakshasa* observes, "that it is equally correct to supply the ellipse after *nandyante* by either *pathati* 'reads,' or *pravicati* 'enters;' in the former case the Sutradhara reciting the *Nandi*, and then continuing the induction; in the latter the benediction being pronounced by a different individual." The Sutradhara, according to the

technical description of him, "was to be well-versed in light literature, as narrative, plays and poetry; he should be familiar with various people, experienced in dramatic details and conversant with different mechanical arts." The prayer is usually often followed by some account of the author of the piece, in which most of the authors "give a long description of their genealogies and of their own attainments, while it is a characteristic of Kalidasa's writings that they all begin with a charmingly modest introduction, marked by great diffidence;" and in some places, the mention of the author is little more than the particularisation of his name. The notice of the author is in general followed by a complimentary appeal to the favour of the audience, and the manager occasionally gives a dramatic representation of himself and his concerns in a dialogue between himself and one of his company, either an actor or an actress, who is termed the *Pariparswika* or associate. The conclusion of the prelude, termed the *Prastavana*, prepares the audience for the entrance of one of the dramatic personages, who is adroitly introduced by some abrupt exclamation of the manager, either by simply naming him as in the *Sakuntala* and *Mâlavikàgnimitra*, or by uttering something he is supposed to overhear, and to which he advances to reply, as in the *Mritchakati* and *Mudra-Râkshasa*. The play being thus opened, is carried forward in scenes and acts, each scene being marked by the entrance of one character, and the exit of another; for in general the stage is never left empty in the course of the act, nor does total change of place often occur. Contrivances have been resorted to, to fill up the seeming chasm which such an interruption as a total change of scene requires, and to avoid such solecism which the entrance of a character, whose approach is unannounced, is considered to be.

Of these, two are personages; the interpreter and introducer; the *Vishkambhaka* and the *Praveçaka*. These are members of the theatrical company, apparently, who may be supposed to sit by, and upon any interruption in the regular course of the piece, explain to the audience its course and object. The *Vishkambhaka*, it is said, may appear at the beginning, in the middle or at the end of an act: the *Pravecaka*, it is said, may appear only between the acts. But this is contradicted by the constant practice, for in every place the *Pravecaka* indicates a change of scene. The duty of the *Pravecaka* was probably of a very simple nature and he merely announced the change of scene and approach of a certain character. The *Vishkambhaka* had a more diversified duty, and besides filling up all the blanks in the story, he was expected to divert the audience by his wit and repartee. The employment of the *Vishkambhaka* and *Pravecaka* is indicated by a simple naming of them, and what either is to do or say is left to the person who fills the character.

The first act or the *Ankamukha* furnishes a clue to the subject of the whole story and the ensuing acts carry on the business of the story to its final development in the last. The piece closes, as it began, with a benediction or prayer, which is always repeated by the principal personage, who expresses his wishes for general plenty and happiness.

Section IV.

Its Characteristics.

The Indian drama presents an obvious analogy to the tragedy of the Greeks, which was "the imitation of a solemn and perfect action, of adequate importance, told in pleasing

language, exhibiting the several elements of dramatic composition, in its different parts represented through the instrumentality of agents not by narration, and purifying the affections of human nature by the influence of pity and terror."

In the Sanskrit dramas there is a total absence of the distinction between Tragedy and Comedy. They never offer a calamitous conclusion, which, as Johnson remarks, was enough to constitute a Tragedy; and although they excite all the emotions of the human breast, terror and pity included, they never effect this object by leaving a painful impression upon the mind of the spectator. "They are mixed compositions, in which joy and sorrow, happiness and misery, are woven in a mingled web—tragi-comic representations, in which good and evil, right and wrong, truth and falsehood, are allowed to blend in confusion during the first acts of the drama. But in the last act, harmony is always restored, order succeeds to disorder, tranquillity to agitation; and the mind of the spectator, no longer perplexed by the apparent ascendancy of evil, is soothed and purified and made to acquiesce in the moral lesson deducible from the plot." The Hindus in fact have no tragedy, and tragic catastrophe is prohibited by a positive rule. The death of either the hero or the heroine is never to be announced, and death must invariably be inflicted out of the view of the spectators. The excepted topics are, hostile defiance, solemn imprecations, exile, degradation, and natural calamity; whilst those of a less grave or comic character, are biting, scratching, kissing, eating, sleeping, bath and the marriage ceremony.

The Dramatic Unities.

"With regard to the unities we have that of action fully recoginsed and a simplicity of business is enjoined quite in the

spirit of the Greek drama. The unity of place is not noticed as might have been expected from the probable absence of all scenic embellishment. The unity of time is curiously modified, conformably to a principle which may satisfy the most fastidious and the time required for the fable elapses invariably between the acts. In practice, there is generally less latitude than the rule indicates and the duration of an act is very commonly that of representation, the night elapsing in the interval."

The Hindu drama confines itself "neither to the crimes nor the absurdities of mankind ; neither to the momentous changes, nor lighter vicissitudes of life ; neither to the terrors of distress nor the gaieties of prosperity." They interweave sorrow and seriousness with mirth and levity. The Hindus in fact have no tragedy. "In truth, however," says H. H. Wilson "the individual and social organisation of the native of India is unfavourable to the development of towering passion and whatever poets or philosophers might have intimated against the contrary, there is no doubt that the regions of physical equability have ever been and still are those of moral extremes."

CHAPTER VI.
THE DRAMATIC WRITINGS.

The Sanskrit drama must have been in cultivation at least since the sixth century B. C. But no drama of the centuries before the Christian era has come down to us. Foremost among the reasons that can be adduced to account for the loss of this dramatic literature stands the fact of the absence of a proper machinery of preservation. The multiplication of M S S.

was therefore a difficult and expensive process. The Brahmans with their marvellous memory never cared to recite the dramas and to propagate dramatic literature orally since the drama formed no part of their sacred scripture. Besides the works of a certain dramatist became the property of a particular class of professional actors who deliberately withheld publishing them and with whom necessarily the dramas themselves became extinct.

The one drama that survived this wreck is the **Mrit chakatika.** **Sudraka** is the reputed author and the prologue gives him a high place in arms and in letters. He lived a hundred years and then burnt himself leaving his kingdom to his son.

Tradition includes him among the universal monarchs of India and places him between Chandragupta and Vikramaditya. The late Col. Wilford considers him the same with the founder of the Andhra dynasty of Magadha Kings, succeeding to the throne by deposing his master, the last of the Kanwa race, to whom he was minister. It is further asserted in the Kumarika-Khanda of the Skanda Purana that in the year 3800 Kali a great King Sudraka would reign. This date is 190 A. D. Therefore Sudraka must be that king.

A work of Sudraka's reign, this may be considered the oldest specimen of the Hindu drama, and internal evidence there is ample to support the view:—

1. The style of the play is simple, unartificial and free from rhetorical devices with which similar work teem. Such a simplicity cannot be attributed to any *riti* or school.

2. The peculiarity in the language of Samsthanaka. His citations of literary passages are from the two great Epics and "not even one from the Puranic legends." Therefore Wilson suspects that the drama was written prior to the composition of the Puranas or at least before the stories they contain had acquired by their aggregation familiar and popular currency.

[*N. B.*—This argument is not verified. The slaying of Sumbha and Nisumbha by Durga forms the theme of the Markandeya Purana. So are the destruction of Daksha's sacrifice and the killing of Krouncha by Kartikeya.]

3. Hindu law prohibits suicide everywhere but Prayag. But the breach of the law by Sudraka without any odium for the violation leads Wilson to think that the society of the drama preceded law.

[*N. B.*—The subsequent foot-note of Wilson invalidates this assertion. 'That the practice of voluntary cremation was observed at the beginning of Kali we know from classical authority.' Besides suicide was sometimes permitted and regarded meritorious, *e.g.*, in Sarvaswara sacrifice.]

4. The love of a respectable brahmin for a courtesan though prohibited in the Kali age indicates perhaps a period anterior to the prohibition.

5. "The accuracy with which Buddhist observances are adverted to and the flourishing condition in which the Buddhists are represented to exist." In the second century the worship of Buddha was prevalent in India and it is clear that the play was written in the days of their prosperity.

6. Weber bases his argument on the use of the word Nanaka (I-23)—a term borrowed from the coins of Kanerki, a king who reigned about 40 A. D. But there is no reason to suppose that the Goddess Naina did not similarly occur on more ancient coins so as to place the drama after the 2nd century A. D.

"The play though long has considerable dramatic merit, the plot being ingeniously developed and the interest well-sustained by a rapid succession of stirring events and picturesquely diversified scenes of everyday life. The character of Samsthanaka, a vicious dissipated man, stands in striking contrast to that of Charudatta. As the one is a pattern of generosity, so the other stands in bold relief as a typical embodiment of the lowest forms of depravity. The heroine Vasantasena, a beautiful and wealthy lady, although according to the strict standard of morality not irreproachable, might still be described as conforming to a high-minded liberal woman. The third act contains a humorous account of a burglary, where stealing is treated as a fine art.

"The dexterity with which the plot is arranged, the ingenuity with which the incidents are connected, the skill with which the characters are delineated and contrasted, the boldness and felicity of the diction are scarcely unworthy of our own dramatists. The asides and aparts, the exits and entrances, the manner, attitude and gait of the speakers, their tones of voice, tears and smiles and laughter are as regularly indicated as in a modern drama."—*Williams.*

The name of **Bhasa** is an enigma in Sanskrit literature. His fame as a dramatist has been traditionally conceded, but no

evidence has been preserved to test the merit of the tradition. Dandin and Bana had already recognised the greatness of Bhasa in the field of letters. Modern theories identify his personality with that of *Dhavaka* or *Ghatakarpara*. The three beautiful dramas ascribed to King Harsha and the two musical lyrics in the name of Ghatakarpara are consequently argued to be the production of his mighty poetic intellect. Apart from the real value of these theories, his dramatic genius is unquestionable. Orthodox tradition ascribes twenty-four dramas to his authorship, not one of which has seen the light of the modern press. If as these theories premise he were of the most humiliating trade of a washerman, this may sufficiently account for his oblivion. At least the names of three of his works we have known on reliable authority. The *Udatta-raghava* develops the eminent side of the character of Rama. The *Svapna-vasavadatta* occupies itself with the story of Udayana's marriage with Vasavadatta. The *Kiranavali* is said to be a natika in the mode of the Ratnavali. From the rare quotations from these works in later works on rhetoric, we can safely form an estimate of Bhasa's poetry. His work is one of natural sweetness. His dramas, as Bana says, were orderly and principled. Variety of character pleased him most. Indeed in originality of conception and versatility of imagery, he was a worthy fore-runner of him, who had found an immortal place among the nine gems of the learned assembly of the renowned Vikramaditya.

Next in the list of dramatists comes **Kalidasa**, the greatest of all. But it is to be regretted that his greatness has not been concurrent with a correct history of his own life or writings. If any part of Indian chronology is unsettled, it is the age of Kalidasa, whereinto the brightest light of

modern research has not penetrated. In this diversity of opinion some of the pertinent *theories* had better be examined.

M. Hippolite Fanche assigns Kalidasa to the reign of the posthumous child that ascended the throne on the death of the voluptuous King Agnimitra. This would take back Kalidasa to about the eighth century B. C.

If Kalidasa were to be a contemporary of a reigning king, his omission to give any history of his own ruler is unaccountable. Besides, as we had already said, the Raghuvamsa cannot be said to be a complete poem. Tradition says that the sequel to the history of Solar Kings has been yet unrecovered. The simple fact that Kalidasa's account closes there cannot conclusively prove the end of the dynasty itself. The Vishnu-purana mentions a list of thirty-seven Kings after Agnimitra. Bhavabhuti's age is with tolerable certainty fixed to the eighth century A. D. Granting Fanche's theory, there is a wide gap of sixteen centuries between them—which long distance of time must have caused a corresponding change in style and language. The artificiality of diction discernible in Bhavabhuti can at the most allow an interval of five centuries and no more.

Sir William Jones places Kalidasa in the first century B. C. This date rests on no other foundation than that of tradition which runs to the effect that there was once a king named Vikramaditya, who after defeating the Sakas or Scythians established the *Samvat era* which commences 57 B.C. Thus runs the memorial verse :—

धन्वन्तरिः क्षपणकामरसिंहशङ्कुवेताळभट्टघटकर्परकालिदासाः ।
ख्यातो वराहमिहिरो नृपतेस्सभायां रत्नानि वै वररुचिर्नव विक्रमस्य॥

Here, there are involved two questions of importance :—

Was there such a prince as Vikramaditya, the destroyer of the Mlechas, the founder of the Samvat era, who reigned in the 1st century B. C.?

1. The belief in a Vikramaditya rests on tradition. But it is also confirmed by the Pathavali of Merutunga, who says that "after Nabhovahana, Gardhabhilla ruled at Ujjain for 13 years, when Sri Kulikacharya, on account of the violence offered to his sister Saraswati, uprooted him and established the Saka Kings at Ujjain. They ruled there for four years. His son Vikramaditya regained the kingdom of Ujjain and commenced the Vikrama Samvat era. This took place 470 years after Vira's era. The Saka era began 605 years after Vira Nirvana." Thus it is seen that a Vikramaditya ruled 135 years before the Saka era.

2. Some antiquarians doubt the very historical existence of such a prince, saying there is absolutely no documentary evidence, in the first century B. C. Fergusson however attemped a theory. He arrives at the following conclusions :—

(i) That the Vikramaditya who conquered the Sakas at the battle of Karur was Harsha of Ujjain;

(ii) That he died about 550 A. D.;

(iii) That before 1000 A. D., when the struggle with the Buddhists was over and a new era was opening for Hindu religion, the Hindus sought to establish some new method of marking time—to supersede the Buddhist Saka era of Kanishka;

(vi) That the Guptas and the Kings of Valabhi having then passed away, in looking for some name or

event of sufficient importance to mark the commencement of a new era, they hit on the name of Vikramaditya as the most illustrious known to them and his victory at Karur, the most important event of his reign.

(vii) That, since the date of victory A. D. 544 was too recent to be adopted, they antedated the epoch by ten cycles of sixty years, thus arriving at B. C. 56 and not content with this devised another era, which they called the Harsha era from the other part of his name and the epoch of which was fixed at B. C. 456 by placing it ten even centuries before the date of Karur. It is an actual fact that the name of Vikrama does not occur in connection with the era of B. C. 57 until a comparatively recent date.

But this theory of Mr. Fergusson's is vitiated throughout by the undue reliance which he placed on the quasi-historical records of the Rajatarangini. The early chronology of Kashmir has still to be fixed and the means of adjusting it are to be found in A. D. 533 as the date of Mihirakula, who according to the book itself reigned in 8th century B. C. And if the date of Harsha of Ujjain is really dependent on the date of Hiranya of Kashmir, it certainly cannot be placed as early as 6th century A. D.

Besides, the new Mandassor inscription, which was composed and engraved when the year 529 had expired from the tribal constitution of the Malavas, gives us, through his feudatory Bandhuvarman, the date of the year 403 of the same era for Kumara-gupta. This proves :—

1. That Kumaragupta dynastic dates and with them those of his father Chandragupta II and his son Skandagupta, which belong undeniably to the same series and also any other which can be shown to run uniformly with them, must be referred to the epoch 319-320 A. D., brought to notice by Alberuni and substantiated by the Veyavala inscription of Vallabhi Samvat 945.

2. That under another name connecting with the Malava tribe, the Vikrama era did undoubtedly exist anterior to A. D. 544, which, as we have seen, was held by Fergusson to be the year in which it was invented. These results are of course independent of the question whether the early Guptas established an era of their own with the above-mentioned epoch or they only adopted the era of some other dynasty.

Thus Fergusson's theory collapses and the tradition on which our belief in the Vikrama of the 1st century B. C. really exists is in this instance corroboratedby a fact.

Did the celebrated nine gems flourish at the court of a Vikramaditya of B. C. 56 ? The only authority in support of the affirmation is the Jyotirvidabharana, the authenticity of which is highly questionable. The tradition moreover does not speak as to the identity of this Vikrama with the founder of the Samvat era. Besides the evidence of language is against the tradition. Houen Thsang places Harsha Siladitya about 580 A. D. and makes Vikramaditya his immediate predecessor. Again Varahamihira, who is included among the nine gems, gives the date of the composition of his Brihat Samhita and this is the sixth century A. D. Against this negative evidence, the tradition that the nine gems were contemporaries makes no stand.

Again *Dr. Bhau Daji* has fixed the first half of the sixth century A. D. and this date is acquisced in by many of the celebrated antiquarians of the present day. The ratio bearing on this conclusion may be arranged as follows :—

(i) Kalidasa has been known to be one of the gems of Vikrama's Court. Of these Varahamihira died in A. D. 587, as appears from a commentary on Brahma Gupta. Colebrooke had already assigned to him the close of the fifth century of the Christian era from a calculation of the position of the stars affirmed as actual in his time by Varahamihira.

(ii) A line in the Meghaduta दिङ्नागानां ...I. 14, affords another datum for fixing the date. The suggested sense according to Mallinatha refers to a pointed allusion to the poets Dingnaga and Nichula, contemporaries of Kalidasa. Of these the former is a celebrated name in the Pramana Sastra or Logic. From the life of Bhagavat Buddha by Ratnadharmaraja, we learn that Dingnaga was the pupil of the Buddhist Arya Asanga in Nyaya 900 years after the death of Buddha and this Asanga was the elder brother and teacher of Vasubandhu. Hiouen Thsang tells us that the latter was the contemporary of Vikrama of Sravasti. According to Fergusson, the reign of Siladitya Pratapasila ends in 580 A. D. He ruled, as Ferista says, fifty years and was preceded by Vikrama whose reign must therefore have ended in 530 A. D.

(iii) Besides Kalidasa must have lived after Aryabhata (A. D. 499) because he displays a knowledge of scientific astronomy borrowed from the Greeks.

But this argument may seem weak: "A passage in the Raghuvamsa XIV. 40 has been erroneously adduced in support of the astronomical argument, as implying that eclipses of the moon are due to the shadow of the earth; it really refers only to the spots in the moon as caused, in accordance with the doctrine of the Puranas, by a reflection of the earth."

His religion :—From the fact that Kalidasa invariably invokes Siva at the beginning of his works, it would be wrong to infer he was a strict Saivite. His veneration for Vishnu appears to have been even greater than that of Siva. For his works abound in passages extolling the attributes of Vishnu, whom he seems to consider the head of the Hindu pantheon. In language used by Vaishnava works, he describes Vishnu as the deity of whom all the other Gods including Siva are but so many different manifestations (Raghu X. 16—17). On the other hand Kumara-Sambhava II assigns to Brahma the same high attributes as those assigned to Vishnu which would show Kalidasa to be no more a Saiva than a Vaishnava or a Bramo. In one place he says all are one.

"The mythological notions of the author, as inferable from the benedictory stanzas opening the three plays, are rather adverse to a remote antiquity, as the worship of any individual deity as a Supreme being and with Bhakthi or Faith appears to be an innovation in Hindu ritual and theology of a comparatively modern period. At the same time, the worship of Saiva undoubtedly prevailed in the Dekhan at the commencement of the Christian era and Vikramaditya, the patron of Kalidasa, is traditionally represented as devoted to Siva and his Consort.—*H. H. Wilson.*

Inferior enjoyment in heaven is not an object of desire to the more enthusiastic of the Hindus as it is but finite and after its cessation the individual is born again in the world and exposed to the calamities of a frail existence. The great aim of devotion is union with the Supreme Spirit, in which case the soul no more assumes a perishable shape. The character of the Nandi indicates the author's belonging to that modification of the Hindu faith, in which the abstract deism of Vedanta is qualified by identifying the Supreme invisible spirit with a delusive form, which was the person of Rudra or Siva. It is more practical, therefore, than grave Vedantism and it is equally different from both the metaphysical and theistical Sankhya.

His works.—The general current of opinion ascribes to he **Sakuntala** the first place among Kalidasa's productions. The popular saying runs :—

कालिदासस्य सर्वस्वमभिज्ञानशकुन्तलं ।
तत्रापि च चतुर्थोऽङ्को यत्र याति शकुन्तला ॥

The plot is the story of the love of Dushyanta for Sakuntala and its vicissitudes. The piece consists of seven acts and forms an example of a Nataka. Kalidasa borrowed his plot from the account given in the Mahabharata, and deviated from the original in three important places. No curse of Durvasas is mentioned in the Mahabharata, and Kalidasa apparently brought in the curse to justify the conduct of Dushyanta which would otherwise have been incompatible with his high moral tone. It is expressly stated in the Sakuntala-Upakhyana of Mahabharata that the King deliberately refused to accept Sakuntala as his bride, having full reminiscence of his marriage with the forest maiden. In another place Kalidasa represents

Sakuntala was pregnant at the time when she was sent to her husband's palace, whereas according to the Mahabharata she appears to have been sent to Dushyanta's abode with her child six years old. Kalidasa might have effected this change to show that Kanva, though a hermit was acquainted with the affairs of the world and was therefore reluctant to keep a mature daughter in his house, such being evidently contrary to decorum. In a third place Kalidasa by a miracle transports Sakuntala, sorely smitten with sorrow on account of the King's refusal, to the hermitage of Máricha, whereas according to the original Sakuntala was immediately relieved of her grief by the be-friended King who was forced to take her as his wedded wife through the instrumentality of an unseen voice publicly proclaiming the innocence of Sakuntala. Kalidasa's object in separating Sakuntala from the King for several years appears to be to give the latter a *locus penitentie*, and to secure thereby for himself an opportunity to expatiate on *Vipralambha Sringara* which we see so exquisitely delineated in his Megha Duta, Kumarasambhava and Vikramorvasiya. The pathos and tenderness with which the author describes Sakuntala's grief when she was about to depart to her husband's abode; her strong attachment to her comrades and to the lower animals, nay, to the very trees and creepers she tended with her gentle hands; the sorrow of separation felt by Kanwa, who with the consciousness that such sorrow should not have found a place in his heart yields to the fragile bent of human nature; the natural timidity which Sakuntala as a well-bred maiden felt when she first saw her lover and her exemplary self-control in spite of the strong temptation evinced when Dushyanta proposed to marry her; all these must for ever make the undying fame of that immortal bard, a permanent record of national pride and glory.

There are some incidents in the play, which appear to us improbable, such as the miraculous effect of the curse of Durvasas upon which the whole play turns and the upheaval of Dushyanta to Indra's court in the aerial car. Such devices are doubtless introduced with an artistic purpose and they are not without their parallels in the dramas of the west, Shakespeare among others. But for the curse there could be no development of the Sringara—the life principle of Act VI. The introduction of the celestial car had the effect of the re-union of Dushyanta and Sakuntala in the hermitage of Maricha but for which a happy termination of the drama would have been well-nigh impossible.

The **Vikramorvasi** forms the second of Kalidasa's plays. It belongs to the class of Trotaka in five acts and represents events partly terrestrial and partly celestial.

The plot is based on mythology as contained in the Puranas. It is true that the story differs from that which is given in the Vishnu Purana. But Wilson argues that the play preceded the Puranas, for "had it been subsequently composed, the poet would either spontaneously or in deference to sacred authority have adhered more closely to the Puranic legend." But a poet cannot save himself from varying the original and the variation itself must depend on the poet's fancies, the popular notion and the environments of dramatic scenes. Besides the Professor himself states that the story of Pururavas as stated in the Matsya Purana keeps close with that dramatised by our poet. Is it not therefore more probable that the Puranas were well-known by that day and that the poet might have preferred the account of the Matsya finding it more suitable for dramatisation?

The love of Pururavas towards Urvasi, a celestial nymph, though not justifiable in itself must be viewed with the same latitude as we have shown in the case of Charudatta. Polygamy may appear to us, as indeed it is, one of the degrading sins of any age or country. But our forefathers unfortunately never for a moment dreamt that polygamy was a sin. Manu ordains that a brahman may marry four wives, a Kshatriya three, a Vaisya two, and a Sudra one. It was considered a privilege for the higher castes to marry a greater number of wives than the lower. Although such an abominable practice appears to have been discouraged as centuries rolled on, still there are relics of the custom embalmed in the families of the Kulin Brahmins of Bengal and in the harems of our nobles.

In comparison with the Sakuntala this drama is more skilfully got up and the succession of events here is more natural and contiguous. Perhaps there is no character here to answer Sakuntala.

"Trivial as the incidents may appear, unimportant as may be the loves of the hero and the heroine, both persons and events are subject to an unlawful control, whose interference invests them with a dignity superior to their natural level. Fate is the ruling principle of the narrative and the monarch, the nymph and the sovereign of the Gods himself are portrayed as subject to the inscrutable and inevitable decrees of destiny."—*H. H. Wilson.*

The **Malavikagnimitra** forms the third drama of Kalidasa's authorship. "The subject is not heroic or divine, the plot being derived from the ordinary palace life of Indian

princes and thus supplying a peculiarly good picture of the social conditions of the times. The play describes the loves of King Agnimitra and of Malavika, an attendant of the queen, who jealously keeps her out of the king's sight on account of her beauty. The various endeavours of the king to see and converse with Malavika give rise to numerous little intrigues. In the course of these Agnimitra nowhere appears as a despot but acts with much delicate consideration for the feelings of his spouse. It finally turns out that Malavika is by birth a princess, who had only come to be an attendant at the king's court through having fallen into the hands of robbers. There being now no objection to her union with the King, all ends happily."

Prof. Wilson however disputes the authorship of the identical Kalidasa, for "there is neither the same melody in the verse or fancy in the thoughts and the manners described are those of a degenerate state of Hindu Society."

He was the first the question to authenticity of the drama and the controversy began with him. Not a single tradition is traceable declaring the Malavikagnimitra a literary forgery. Nor does the authority of anthologists or rhetoricians give a standing ground. When scholars speak of grace and melody, they are equally abstract. The music of the verse in this drama is not in any way less natural than that of the Sakuntala or the Vikramorvasi. Nor does our drama show any complexity or dissimilarity in metric versification. If then 'the same fancy in the thoughts' is absent in the Malavikagnimitra, it is half admitted as true. But this in itself cannot be conclusive evidence to warrant a decision. That this work might have been a maiden attempt of Kalidasa's is not improbable. Per-

haps too the scenes of the Malavikagnimitra gave no scope for a wide display of the beauties of nature and the habits of animals in rural and sylvan retreats. Its hero Agnimitra is more a human character than the semi-mythical Dushyanta or Pururavas. "Both rest moreover upon a mythical ground," says Weber "and consequently bear a more magnificient and ideal character; the Malavikagnimitra portrays the life in the court of a historic prince, and consequently the bare actuality, with its self-made, and therefore, scanty concerns."

Again the Professor objects, "the manners described appear to be those of a degenerate state of Hindu society." This has no meaning. Is polygamy an equivalent to degeneracy? Hindu canons of conduct license the marriage of a male with more than one wife. The Sakuntala with its hero Dushyanta, the lover of a big harem and the Vikramorvasi with its hero Pururavas, the suitor to the hand of a harlot nymph must equally share the accusation. There is not any feature of degeneracy noticeable here, that cannot equally be brought home to its sister dramas. Besides any student of literary works must observe a similarity of settled style in the works of the same author. Internal evidence is certainly against the theory. The frequent occurrence ofthe same phrases and expressions, the invariable repetition of similar figurative embellishments, the charmingly modest introductions in the dramatic prologues, the brevity and singularity of the benedictory verses, the freedom and harmony of the *arya* metre—all these are striking parities that the three works prominently show. "The reader will in vain seek for similar 'points of contact' in works that professedly belong to different authors, unless one of them has designedly imitated in his own writings the diction, the style, the thoughts, the fancies, the modesty, and

good sense of another. The conclusion that will force itself irresistibly on the mind of the reader of the three plays, that they all belong to one and the same author, can hardly be unsettled by a suggestion that the similarities may be explained on the ground of imitation.

An appreciation of Kalidasa is beyond expression. Kalidasa's masterly command over the language, the exuberance of his imagination, the delicacy of his tenderness, the versatility of his description, the harmonious flow of his expression, the peculiar capacity of delineating universal truths—all these combine to raise Kalidasa to the highest pitch of glory. The immortal lines of Goethe deserve a quotation :—

> "Wouldst thou the young year's blossoms and the fruits of its decline,
> And all by which the soul is charmed, enraptured, feasted and fed ;
> Wouldst thou the earth and heaven itself in one sole name combine ?
> I name thee, O Sakuntala ! and all at once is said."

Sri Harsha-Vardhana Siladitya II of Kanouj was the son of Prabhakara Vardhana by his queen Yasomati. It is said that his elder brother Rajyavardhana was killed by treachery and Harsha ascended the throne in A.D. 606. His life forms the theme of Bana's Harshacharita. He was himself a poet and his court was the resort of the learned of the day. Three dramas are attributed to his authorship.

The **Ratnavali** a *natika* in four acts, describes the secret loves of King Udayana and Sagarika, an attendant on the queen Vasavadatta. Private intrigues are arranged but discovered by the queen. After so many vicissitudes the horoine turns out to be Ratnavali, a Ceylon princess, whom a shipwreck has brought to the Vatsa court. "The plot is unconnected with

mythology, but is based on a historical or epic tradition, which recurs in a somewhat different form in Somadeva's Kathasarit-sagara. As concerned with the second marriage of the King, it forms a sequel to the popular love-story of Vasava-datta. It is impossible to say whether the poet modified the main outlines of traditional story, but the character of a magician who conjures up a vision of the gods and a conflagration is his invention, as well as the incidents which are entirely of a domestic nature."

The **Nagananda,** in four acts, describes the story of Jimutavahana, a prince of the Vidyadharas, who, swayed by sentiments of universal love, relinquishes his kingdom to serve his parents in the forest. There in the Malaya mountain he falls in love with the daughter of the Gandharva King; and roaming about by chance, fresh from the wedding, he hears that the King of Serpents has made peace with Garuda and stipulated to offer a serpent each day to the kite. The heart of the prince is moved. He resolves to save the life of that day's victim even at the risk of his own. Garuda finds out that by mistake he has harmed the disguised prince and overpowered with grief learnt that abstinence from cruelty is the highest virtue on earth. The play ends with the appearance of the Goddess Gauri, who revives the prince to life. It is a sensational piece, says Mac Donell "with a Buddhistic colouring, the hero being a Buddhist and Buddha being praised in the introductory benedictions." That the play seeks to illustrate a Buddhistic doctrine cannot be conceded. This idea of self-sacrifice is not the tenet solely of the religion of Buddha without any recognition in the religion of the Vedas. Compassion to all is the highest doctrine inculcated both in the Ramayana and in the Mahabharata—decidedly pre-Buddhistic

works. Nor is the main purpose of the play the illustration of the principle of self-sacrifice. "The characters, the scenes, the incidents—all are Hindu. The hero is a Vidyadhara prince, who reveres and worships the Aryan gods. His father lives after his abdication of the crown an Aryan ascetic's life in his retirement. The royal wedding is celebrated in the old Hindu fashion ; scenes of drunken revelry among the lower orders are not absent. Garuda is an Aryan god and finally the appearance of the goddess Gauri and the *amrita shower* which mark the happy close of the drama are Hindu incidents in the legend."—*Bhanap.*

The **Priyadarsika,** in four acts, is a reflection of the Ratnavali. Dridhavarman, King of the Angas, having be-trothed his daughter Priyadarsika to King Udayana prepares to take her to him. Meanwhile the Kalinga King overcomes and imprisons him. Priyadarsika after some vicissitudes is admitted to the harem of Udayana by his commander, under the name of Aranyika, a maid-servant to the queen. The king is enamoured of her and his secret intrigues are as usual discovered by the Queen. Aranyika is imprisoned by her, but not long after this, she is recognised in her true colors, as the Anga princess Priyadarsika, her own maternal cousin. Bitten by a serpent the heroine is in a swoon and the king revives her. The story ends with her happy presentation to the king by the queen herself.

Their authorship :—*Dr. Hall* considers that the poet *Bana* was the real author of these plays. He argues that an ancient manuscript of the Kavyaprakasa reads Bana in the place of Dhavaka in the line "श्रीहर्षादेर्धावकादीनामिव धनम्" and that the well-known verse "द्वीपादन्यस्मादपि......" occurs in

the fifth chapter of the '*poem of Harshacharita.*' "Bana may have afterwards inserted a verse from the Ratnavali in his recognised poem of Harshacharita, as a tacit assertion of his claim to the authorship of that work"—this is Dr. Hall's explanation. Either of these arguments are unauthenticated. The learned doctor stands alone among scholars that have ever collated MSS. of Mammata's work. It must have been a noteworthy copy indeed! Besides, not one of the modern editions of the 'poem of Harshacharita,' as it is termed by the scholar, contains the stanza referred to. The only verse which perhaps might be pitched upon has the first letter alone or at most the first word common with the line of the Ratnavali. Bana was wealthy and had a rich ancestral estate. He had no end in selling his work for lucre; was but if that were his end there is no reason why he could not have sold his masterpiece, the Kadambari, which must have procured him a better fortune. As usual therefore Dr. Hall's suggestions are mere conjectures nor is there generally any solid basis for his insinuating criticisms. (*Vide Subandhu*).

Regarding **Dhavaka**, nothing had been known till very lately, when a new theory was advanced by a scholar of Madras. He makes some valuable hits in his 'introduction to the Ratnavali.' *Dhavaka* (*lit. washerman*) is identified with Bhasa, the great predecessor of Kalidasa in the field of poetry These are his *ratio decidendii*:—

(i) That a comparative study of works akin to the plays of Sriharsha shows: (*a*) that there is a close identity of plot between the Malavikagnimitra on the one hand and the Ratnavali on the other and that if the Malavikagnimitra were the earlier, it is difficult to explain how the other two ever came to be

written ; (*b*) that 'Sri Harsha' was not as a matter of fact indebted to Kalidasa for his plots, but to certain accounts and traditions about historical personages, which were afterwards embodied in the Brihatkatha of Gunadhya and that his plays follow a certain order of sequence and had their origin in connection with certain popular historical characters ; (*c*) that Kalidasa in his Malavikagnimitra and nowhere else makes reference to poets before him, and that the manner of such reference, coupled with his allusion to the tales of Udayana in his Meghaduta, can have meaning only when taken as applying to writers whom he was in some way trying to excel ;

(ii) That Bhasa is mentioned by a long list of eminent writers as one of the greatest of Sanskrit poets, as a dramatist of the highest reputation and as the author of the Ratnavali, Priyadarsika and Naga-nanda and a host of other plays ;

(iii) That by 'Sri Harsha' is meant Sri Harsha Vikramaditya of Ujjain, not Harsha Vardhana of Kanouj, and that it is by identifying the former with the latter that scholars have fallen into the great error of ascribing the plays in question either to Bana or to some other poet of Harsha Vardhana's court ;

(iv) That this Sri Harsha must have lived in the 6th century B. C. as borne out by a host of references to him in our ancient works ;

(v) That the style of 'Sri Harsha' is exceedingly easy, flowing and musical. In vain is our search therein for verbal squibbles, the empty though high-sounding collocation of sounds, the double meaning of

whole passages, the delight in long compounds—such as characterise even Bhavabhuti's plays.

These arguments, if bodily accepted, would unsettle all recognised chronology. For the present, though there is weight and sense in the reasoning, it would make worse confusion in our dates. India's chronology must of course be re-written to make a correspondence with its own traditional accounts.

Whatever may be the theories as to the authorship of these gems of exquisite poetry, their merit can never be underrated. Unfortunately Prof. Wilson did not wait to recognise the true Harsha referred to by these dramas and assigned them to the 12th century A. D. The mischief ceases not there, but inferences are drawn from this wrong datum. Writings of later centuries are taken to be strained and unnatural expressions. "Besides the want of passion and the substitution of intrigue," he says "it will be evident that there is in the Ratnavali no poetic spirit, no gleam of inspiration, scarce even enough to suggest a conceit in the ideas. The only poetry of the play in fact is mechanical." Any sincere scholar of Indian dramatic literature would easily see how the truth is exactly the opposite extreme. If any drama is noted for music or simplicity, it is the Ratnavali. Chastity of diction, melody of verse, richness of similitudes, tenderness of feeling and dignity of characterisation—these are stamped in this dramatic triad and this is a sufficient test to refute the professor's criticism.

Bhavabhuti is regarded a classic in the Sanskrit drama. His parents were Nilakanta and Jatukarni. He was a native of Padmapura in the country of the Vidarbhas, the modern Berars.

" Bhavabhuti's native place appears from the descriptions," says Bhandakar "to have been somewhere near Chanda in the Nagpur territories ; where there are still many families of Maharati Desastha Brahmins of the Black Yajur Veda with Apasthamba for their sutras." He knew the Vedas. The atheistic Sankhya and theistic Yoga philosophies were not unknown to him. He was well conversant with the Sutra literature. Unlike the other dramatists he develops the marriage of Malati and Madhava on lines peculiar to his own study. He follows Gautama who holds the mind and the eye as the sole guides in choosing a girl. He is a vedic bard with vedic ideas and expressions, which almost unconsciously find their way into his writings. Jnananidhi was his Guru, which name looks like one assumed by persons when they enter into the monastic order and devote themselves to the study of the Supreme Spirit. He probably initiated our poet into the mysteries of the Vedanta. Bhavabhuti was perhaps a wanderer in his youth. "From his native region stern and wild, the poetic child had imbibed that appreciation of nature in her wild magnificence which distinguishes him from all other poets." In his middle life he attached himself to the court of Kanouj and there standing by the prince Yasovarman in all his vicissitudes accompanied him to Kashmir. On his way he visited many of the Buddhist *viharas* and observed various kinds of Pashanda worship and the practice of human sacrifices offered to Chamunda, to some of which he alludes in his works. In his own day he enjoyed a high reputation for his learning and was honoured by his contemporaries by the title of Srikantha, as one यं ब्रह्माणमियं देवी वाग्वश्येवानुवर्तते ।

His dramas are generally represented at the festivities of Ujjain. His own relatives and friends, who admired his great

learning and devotion, seem not to have liked his dramatic authorship and his association with singers and dancers.

His time : *Data of determination* :—

(i) According to the Rajatarangini, Bhavabhuti was patronised by Yasovarman, King of Kanouj. He was subdued by Lalitaditya of Kashmir, who acquired by his conquests a paramount supremacy over a large part of India and this king reigned between 693 and 729 A.D.

(ii) Kalhana's chronicle mentions another poet Vakpati Raja at the same court. A work in prakrit *Gauda-vaho* has been discovered of this author. In it the exploits of Yasovarman and his defeat of a Gauda King are narrated. In giving his own history, he says his excellence shall shine in his works, like drops of nectar from the ocean of Bhavabhuti:—

भवभूइजलनिहिनिग्गयकव्वामयरसकणाइव फुरान्दि ।
जस्स विशेसाविविराडसुकहायवन्धेसु ॥

(iii) The prefatory stanzas of the Harshacharita, forming a rapid critical view of the predecessors in the field of poetry, do not mention our poet's name. It is probable, therefore, that Bhavabhuti was not known to the author of the Charita.

(iv) The internal evidence based on style necessarily confirms the above view of about the 8th century. His works clearly belong to a later period when a new style of composition was forming particularly in the department of description. It is the period of Subandhu, Dandin and Bana, and the prose of our author bears a marked resemblance to

theirs and even his verse misses the simple grace characteristic of Kalidasa and Sudraka. He evidently belongs to a school, to which *Ojas* is the soul of elegant style.

His works.

Three dramas of Bhavabhuti have come down to us. Some stray stanzas not traceable in any of these but found in the anthologies, attributed to him, suggest some lost works, dramas or poems.

The Mahaviracharita, a drama in seven acts of the sentiment of heroism, handles a continuous history of the heroic part of Rama's life. Rama as a warrior is considered, so that every other incident of his life not contributing to this stern passion finds no place in the drama. The poet deviates from some of the minute details of the Ramayana with a view to giving prominence to the Vira-rasa and so stirring and martial descriptions are brought out in full relief.

The **Malati-madhava** is a *prakarana* in ten acts. The plot has been spun out purely from the imagination of our poet. " The scene is laid in Ujjain, and the subject is the love-story of Malati, daughter of a minister of the country and Madhava a young scholar of the city and son of the minister of another state. Skilfully interwoven with this main story are the fortunes of Makaranda, a friend of Madhava and Madayantika, a sister of the king's favourite. Malati and Madhava meet and fall in love, but the king has determined that the heroine shall marry his favourite, whom she detests. This plan is frustrated by Makaranda, who personating Malati goes through the wedding ceremony with the bride-groom. The lovers, aided in their projects by two amiable Buddhist nuns, are finally united."

The **Uttararamacharita**, a dramatic poem than a play in seven Acts, is one of the best pieces in Sanskrit literature. The sentiment is *karuna* and the theme is drawn from the later life of Rama. The play begins with the banishment of Sita and ends with her reunion after twelve years of forlorn solitude with her husband, King of Ayodhya, amidst the peoples' acclamations.

The works of Bhavabhuti have been regarded by tradition the standard of poetic study. He is a worthy peer of Kalidasa in merit and fame. Kalidasa is terse and brief in his expression and working upon the reader's feelings puts to exercise his full imagination. Bhavabhuti's language is comparatively diffused. Very frequently there is a redundancy of ideas which however make a strong impression on the reader's mind. In short, Bhavabhuti expresses in the *Vachya* sense what Kalidasa does in the *Vyangya* sense. In describing human emotions of Pathos and Heroism, he surpasses his rival. Kalidasa's style is ampler, more graceful and natural, while Bhavabhuti's sounds a little artificial. He displays greater vigour, passion and pedantry. In the delineations of nature and chivalry Bhavabhuti feels quite at home. He is a pet of *grander* scenes of Nature while Kalidasa is the student of *more graceful* scenes. "Bhavabhuti is skilful in detecting beauty even in ordinary things and actions and in distinguishing the nicer shades of feelings. He is a master of style and expression and his cleverness in adapting his words to sentiment is unsurpassed." Like Kalidasa's, Bhavabhuti's language is full of melody and lyrical beauty. In religion Kalidasa is almost a sceptic. His life was a continued term of amorous intrigues. Bhavabhuti on the other hand is strictly devoted to Sastric precepts. He would not loose sight of the minutest ceremony. His guest would not be allowed to

depart without the *Madhuparka-Vidhi.* "Kalidasa has more fancy ; he is a greater artist than Bhavabhuti." Truly Bhavabhuti's art is not so very delicate, perhaps overstrained. Kalidasa's imagination soars up to an appreciable height but Bhavabhuti's fancy craves a still higher mounting. The absence of Vidushaka in Bhavabhati's plays contrasts strikingly with the dramas of Kalidasa. Probably the nature of the heroes and the environments of action as depicted by Bhavabhuti give no room to it ; whereas the heroes of Kalidasa cannot for a moment compare with Rama as 'model husbands' with the highest standard of matrimonial ethics.

The skilful introduction of the Rakshasa ambassador, the development of Malyavan's policy, the stern heroism of Jamadagnya and the scenes of saintly altercations—these in the Viracharita ; the mutual affection of Malati and Madhava, the strange devotion of Kamandaki, who though an ascetic with no worldly cares felt a natural interest in the union of the mutually affianced couple, the strong attachment of Makaranda to Madhava's cause, and the grateful service rendered by Soudamini against Kapalakundala—these in the Malati ; the mutual expressions of sorrow of Rama and Sita during their separation, the disinterested spirit of Rama when he banished his beloved wife for the preservation of the realm's peace, the meeting of Rama with his *incognito* sons Kusa and Lava—these in the Uttararamacharita are some of the happiest touches given by the master-hand of Bhavabhuti to incidents which appear to the non-aesthetic and unimaginative mind as mere common places.

Bana, as a poet of the court of Siladitya II, will be described in greater detail in the chapter on the prose literature.

His drama the *Parvatiparinaya* comes into consideration. It has all the while been an accepted fact that the work proceeded from the pen of the author of the Kadambari. Recently however a theory has been advanced assigning the authorship not to the old Bana, but to one Vamana Bhatta Bana, a writer of the 15th century. Among other data were :—

(i) The old view had its origin in a confusion of names. Both the Banas were scions of the Vatsa race and both of these were good prose-writers.

(ii) Had the earlier Bana composed it, it is most suspicious that not one of the later rhetoricians referred to the name of the work or its contents.

(iii) The drama does not display the same ingenuity of description or freedom of language as Bana does in his other works. A comparative view of the description of Kadambari and Parvati had better be taken.

(iv) Except Vamana Bana, no other poet of the name we have known or heard of.

(v) In a weekly journal of Malabar, a Pandit Ramaparasava by name refers to our drama as a work of Vamanacharya.

These arguments are plausible and perhaps convincing too. Quite probable it is that the assignment of the authorship to the older Bana arose out of misapprehension. However, the impossibility of the older view has not been conclusively demonstrated. The Parvatiparinaya is not after all a successful drama. It barely copies the story of the Kumarasambhava but gives it a dramatic garb. The whole thing seems on its face a purely artificial business. If Vamana were to be the author,

such a purely mechanical work cannot creditably be ascribed to him. His other drama, the Sringara-bhushana, shows good poetry and originality. Apparently this is an inconsistency. If Parvati is not described as well as Kadambari, it is not the fault of Bana but of the nature of the work itself. A drama is meant to be enacted and as such must wantonly omit long descriptions in tedious prose, whereas a romance is solely meant for lengthy and vigorous sketches, which must be understood by good scholars alone. This may account for the comparative mildness of the descriptions in the drama. Again Bana is known to be a bad writer of poetry. His verses are always strained and unnatural. The introduction to the Harsha-charita must be an apt illustration. If the Parvatiparinaya has no good poetry, it is more probable it was composed by the Bana of the 7th century. Nor can it be contended that Bana's genius never attempted any dramatic writing at all. For Peterson notes the existence of a drama *Mukuda-taditaka* by the author of the Kadambari, though no copy of MSS. has been accessible to us. Therefore, in sifting the arguments in favour of the new theory, the last alone forms a documentary evidence which, if based on earlier tradition, may suffice to establish a case. Such then are the obstacles in its way. But still these are only obstacles which we wish to make clear to a closer observer. The fact that old tradition never spoke of a drama of this name as Bana's goes to a great extent in its favour. These circumstances must only leave the decision dubious, until some stronger historical evidence comes forth. Proceeding from the imainatgion of a sound scholar, the theory has high merits and deserves all congratulation.

The Parvatiparinaya is a drama of five acts, describing the circumstances that led to the marriage of Parvati and Siva.

The story keeps close pace with the episode in the Siva-purana and likewise the version of Kalidasa. As a drama, it cannot command good appreciation. The ideas are at times unsuited to the occasion. With all this, there is a sort of music in the verse and the style shows a simple grace. In the words of a modern critic : "न खलु वस्तुघटनासंप्रदायः किञ्चिदपि चमत्कारपदमारोपितः। नापि पात्राणामुक्तिप्रत्युक्तिव्यतिकरः कियताप्यंशेन समानीतस्सारस्य भूमिं । न वा रसविलासः कथमपि परिमलं ग्राहितः । नैव च वर्णनाविशेषः कल्पनाशिल्पमल्पमपि लम्भितः ॥"

Visakhadatta was the son of Prithu and grandson of Vatesvaradatta. He leaves us no more hints as to his life and only one work of his we have known—the *Mudrarakshasa.* The accompanying data go to fix the author's age approximately :—

(i) The country is described "when the Pathan princes were pressing on the Hindu sovereignties" (*Wilson.*) This would indicate not so much a permanent establishment of sovereignty or any continuous oppression, as a more or less constant series of annoyances and harassments—alluding to the whole century from 711 A. D. and 812 A. D.

(ii) The Dasarupa alludes to our drama in three places and in one of them sets out in full an extract for illustration and the Dasarupa itself is assigned to the 10th century.

(iii) Some MSS. read Avantivarman instead of Chandragupta, in the last line of the drama. "He must have been a king of Behar and if our author was an inhabitant of that part of the country, it is not

impossible that this play was written by him in the reign of Avantivarman and so his name came to be substituted for Chandragupta." This date would be somewhere about seventh century A. D.

(iv) The geography of our Pataliputra is probably as it existed when the work was composed. A chinese account of India says : "At the close of the year Kan-Yuen (756 A. D.) the bank of the river Holung (Ganges) gave way and disappeared." If the distruction then of Pataliputra is referred to, our work must fall about first half of the eighth century.

(v) The conduct of Chandanadasa in sacrificing his life for his friend Rakshasa is stated to have transcended the nobility even of the Buddhas. This allusion to Buddhism belongs to a period long prior to the decay and ultimate disappearance of Buddhism from India.

Looking back at the various lines of investigation, all these run pretty closely towards the conclusion that "our drama belongs to somewhere about *the 8th century* A. D."

The drama is in sundry respects a very unique work in Sanskrit literature. Its plot is not a pure invention and has no female among its prominent *dramatis personae* and the business of the play is accordingly diplomacy and politics to the entire exclusion of love. The style does not lay much claim to sweetness or beauty, but it is always business-like and often vigorous. The intrigues of Chanakya to bring away Rakshasa to the side of Chandragupta, his own nominee, from favour to the deposed Nandas, form the thread of narrative.

Bhatta Narayana was "one of the Kanoja brahmins invited into Bengal by Adisura, from whom the brahmins of that province are descended. He was of the Sandilya family." Adisura was the 22nd prince in descent from Ballalasen who reigned about the 13th century. Assigning a moderate duration of 300 years to the intermediate princes, Bhatta Narayana must have flourished about the 8th or 9th century. He belonged to the class of Gauda brahmins of the Pancharatra sect. He was surnamed *Mrigaraja*. The identity of our author with the historical one is established thus :—

(*a*) The plot of the Venisamhara where the grant of five towns is referred to bears an obvious resemblance to the fact of Adisura's presenting the five brahmins with a town apiece.

(*b*) Traces of the Pancharatra doctrine are visible in the drama. The two prominent verses of the Nandi refer to Krishna. So also I, 23 and VI, 43.

(*c*) The episode of Charvaka is a poetic innovation in the plot, meant apparently to bring the materialists to ridicule.

His **Venisamhara**—a drama in six acts—alludes to an incident in the Sabhaparvan, the dragging of Draupadi's hair in the public assembly. It dramatises the Bharata War ending in the tying-up of Draupadi's braid and the coronation of Yudhistira. The second act has been the object of some criticism, as being unsuited to the purpose of the drama. It only shows out the extreme recklessness of the Kaurava prince and strictly develops the drama in accordance with rhetorical canons. The introduction of the Rakshasa mendicant in the last act is amusing. As a heroic piece, the poet's work must be regarded as a success. His style is at times

harsh and vigorous as it ought to be and the intricacy of representing in a dramatic form a long account of the Great War must give him credit. It has never failed to command the high regard due to it of its readers for more than a thousand years.

Rajasekhara was born of Durduka and Silavati and so a scion of a Yayavara family. He was wedded to Avantisundari, 'the crest Jewel of the Chouhan family'—obviously a Rajput princess. His ancestors seem to have belonged to the Vidarbha and Kuntala countries. Kshemendra quotes a stanza of our author and the countries that are named therein range from Cambay to Comerin and justify little more than the conjecture that Rajasekhara was from West Dekhan. As we find him in the position of a court poet at Kanouj far to the north, we must suppose that he left his native country to seek wealth and fame at foreign courts.

The poet in all his plays declares himself a spiritual teacher of Mahendrapala. Mahipala a son of the latter, was the paramount sovereign of Aryavarta. Fleet has shown that Mahipala must be identified with a King of the Arni inscription dated A. D. 917. An inscription of Mahendrapala from Dubanli dates A. D. 761-2. All epigraphical research goes to assign him to about 900 A. D. Apte fixes the date to the end of the 8th century because the poet quotes Bhavabhuti and is himself quoted in Dasarupa.

Of his works, four have been discovered and it is certain some are lost, as stray stanzas are ascribed to him by some anthologies, which have not been traced in the extant group of his writings.

(i) The **Balaramayana** is a drama in 10 acts. Of all Sanskrit dramas, this is probably the greatest in bulk. It relates the whole story of Rama. Ravana is from the beginning represented as the jealous rival of Rama and as taking a part in the Swayamvara. His love and longing play a much more prominent part than his ferocity and cruelty. The poet drew upon the Ramayana and where he deviated he clearly imitated Bhavabhuti and there are unmistakable signs that he had the Mahaviracharita before him. Several passages are noted for their lyrical beauty and the poet's mastery of the several languages is better shown here than in any other of his plays.

(ii) The **Viddha-salabhanjika** is a natika in imitation of the Ratnavali. King Chandravarman of Lata having no sons tries to pass of his daughter Mrigankavali as a boy and sends her to the queen of King Vidyadhara. The plot ends by a real marriage in secret of the king with the princess and the confidence is suddenly disclosed by a messenger who brings news of the birth of a son to Chandra.

(iii) The **Karpuramanjari** is a nataka of four acts. King Chandrapala marries the heroine, a Kuntala princess. The jealousy of the queen and the machinations that bring the king and princess together, form the plot. This is the poet's oldest play, as it was not, like the other plays, acted at the request of the king but by the wish of the poet's wife Avantisundari.

(iv) The **Balabharata** is incomplete and has only two acts. Draupadi's Swayamvara and Vasoharanam are described.

Rajasekhara was a poet in a very true sense and always appreciates lyrical harmony and grand eloquence. His masterly command of the more elaborate metres is noteworthy. His repetitions and proverbial expressions are something very striking. As a dramatist, he is not perfect. At least, he is only an imitator there.

Murari was the son of Vardhamana and Tantumatidevi and of the Moudgalyagotra. He is quoted by Ratnakara, and the latter flourished at the court of Avantivarman (855--884 A. D.) In the introduction to his *Anargha Raghava* it is said that the audience were terrified by the representation of a play which was full of sentiments of anger, terror and disgust and probably the reference is to Bhavabhuti's Malati-Madhava. Accordingly his work was meant to remove the unpleasant feelings of the audience. The plot is made up of the story of Rama and owing to the eloquence of the narration he has been named Bala-Valmiki. The play has no dramatic beauty and it is more fit for the hall than for the stage. His diction is inscrutable and his ideas are far-fetched and in most cases unnatural. Anyhow he shows himself a master of scholarly reading and ready vocabulary. Viewed as classic poetry, his work finds a middle place in the poetic pantheon.

Damodaramisra was a poet of the court of Bhoja of Dhar and so flourished in the latter half of *the tenth century A. D.* His *Hanuman-nataka* or *Maha-nataka* is a drama in 14 acts, describing the story of Rama with special prominence to Hanuman. The tradition is that the original was composed by Hanuman himself, who threw it into the ocean, as he thought Valmiki's work described Rama's life better. The slabs on which the work was written were discovered by a

fisherman and handed over to King Bhoja, who thereupon got the lost work patched up. Hence it is, that this drama is more an anthology of the verses of so many authors, brought together for the occasion.

Bilhana, the well-known author of Kashmir, has been assigned to the 11th century. His *Karnasundari* is a drama of four acts, after the manner of the *Ratnavali.* It describes the secret intrigues of a Chalukya prince with a Vidyadhara princess. The plot ends in a public marriage between them and a reconciliation with the queen. Though with no originality of plot, the style displays a true poetic art. The language is highly imaginative and the descriptions extremely fanciful.

Kshemisvara was the grand-nephew of Vijiaprakoshta. The resemblance of names has sometimes led to the confusion of this author with Kshemendra. It is an undisputed fact that these are different individuals. Kshemisvara has always an appellation of *Arya* prefixed to his name while Kshemendra is known as Vyasadasa. Kshemisvara does not name his immediate parents, who perhaps were not very famous, whereas Kshemendra in his Auchitya-vichara-charcha gives his full parentage. While the rhetorical works of Kshemendra quote illustrative examples from all other works of his, not one is gleaned out from the Chanda-kausika. Nor does any catalogue or tradition bring this work under the head of Kshemendra's authorship. Besides Kshemendra refers to his patron King Ananta of Kashmir (1028-1081 A.D.); whereas Kshemisvara in his drama does not mention Ananta but Mahipaladeva. These arguments must overthrow the identity of Kshemisvara with Kshemendra.

The Dasarupa of Dhanika, a standard work on dramaturgy of the ninth century, quotes from many of the then known dramas but gives no reference to Kshemisvara. Viswanadha of the fifteenth century very frequently illustrates from his drama. These furnish the two widest *terminii.* In the prologue to the Chanda-kausika, King Mahipala is referred to. This King is mentioned in a Gwaliar inscription dated Samvat 1150 (1094 A.D.). The reference to a minister of this King in the inscription tallies closely with Kshemiswara's allusion. These data must assign our poet to the latter half of *the eleventh century.*

His **Chanda-kausika** describes in five acts the well-known story of Harischandra. It begins with the performance of some expiatory ceremonies to avert evil omens and portends, passes through the violent demands of Viswamitra, the slavery of the king under a Chandala and the death of prince Rohitasva and concludes with the restoration to life and coronation of the prince by Dharma. The play is well-constructed though it shows no intricacy in its development. There are scenes of tender pathos and sincere sympathy. The truthfulness of Harischandra is prominently brought out —the moral end which the poet must have had in his mind at the moment of his choice of this story. However neither the thought nor the verse claims much originality though there is much lyric beauty everywhere.

Krishnamisra was by tradition an ascetic of the Hamsa order. With a view to propagate the Advaita philosophy, he schooled many of the young men of his country, but with due deference to his own *asrama*. Among them was one who was quite averse to all philosophy and who devoted his valuable hours to the study of the dramatic and the erotic literature.

To put him in the way, the monk devised the most tantalising bait and imbedded all philosophy in the drama of *Prabodha-chandrodaya*. The Chandrika commentary on the drama was written under Krishnadeva about 1520 A. D. Besides, Gopala and Kirtivarman are referred to in the prologue. The former was very powerful, defeated his enemies with sword in hand and reinstated his friend Kirtivarman. The Mahoba inscription refers to the latter as a Chandella King, who with his general Gopala overthrew Karna, King of Chedi, about 1098 A.D. The Deogadh inscription dated Samvat 1154 confirms the incident. This cumulative evidence must assign our work to the very end of *the 11th century*. The play is in the plan of the old moralities with its abstract characters as Love, Anger, Avarice and so on. Viveka and Mahamoha are brothers but of hostile tendencies. The first three acts are devoted to the description of the prevalent vices and evils and to an overthrow of the tenets of the Buddhist and Jain ascetics. The fourth act makes ready Viveka's army, and Patience, Reason, and Contentment are given the necessary instructions. The fifth act opens with the news of Mahamoha's defeat and is occupied with the lament of Manas and its consolation by Saraswati. The last act brings in all pure philosophy, stuffing up the verses with Vedic passages and concludes with the birth of Wisdom or Prabodhachandra. The plan of the drama is well-constructed, but, as a drama, the work has no attraction. The free poetic nature of the poet has been misspent in one way, for with any other story and sentiment his poetic genius must have ranked very high. Still many of the verses are remarkable for their description and lyrical beauty. The lines are natural and the lack of effort, characteristic of that late date, is a rare qualification. The drama however has for centuries had a high appreciation among the pandit classes.

Kanchanacharya was the son of Narayana of the race of Kappimuni. From a reference to Jayadeva of Kanouj, he has been assigned to the 12th century A. D. His *Dhananjaya-vijaya* is a dramatic piece of the *Vyayoga* class, describing the recovery of the Virata's cattle by Arjuna, when they were carried off by the Kurus. The story is described in a conversation between Indra and his attendants.

Umapatidhara was a contemporary of Jayadeva and one of the learned men of the court of King Laxmanasena of Bengal. He flourished therefore in the *first half of the twelfth century.* His *Parijataharanam* is a drama of the *rupaka* class. Narada presented a *parijata* flower to Krishna which he gave to Rukmini. Satyabhama was enraged and Krishna sent to Indra for some more, which he refused. Thereupon there was a war wherein he was defeated and Satyabhama was propitiated. The plot is well-constructed and the characters are well-developed. Arjuna, as an assistant to Krishna, plays an important part. The descriptions are imaginative and the contrast between the wives of Krishna is successfully brought out.

Sankhadhara was born in Kanouj of a race of hereditary poetic learning. He was patronised by King Govindachandra, who appears to have flourished between 1115 and 1143 A.D. His *Latakámelaka* is a *prahasana* or farce, meant to entertain his royal patron at a spring gathering.

Subhata was born in Gujrat during the reign of King Kumarapala (1088-1172 A. D.) Though many of his works have not come down to us, his name as a classic poet has been acknowledged by his successors, such as Somesvara and

Namisadhu. Hemachandra was his comtemporary. His *Dutangada*, a dramatic piece of a single act describes in a graphic form the embassy of Angada for negotiation with Ravana. Some of the verses breathe enthusiasm and the speeches are aptly curt and pointed.

Rudradeva was of the royal race of Warrangal and flourished between 1294 and 1325 A. D. He was a great poet and rhetorician. His *Yayaticharita*, a drama in seven acts, relates the intrigue of Yayati with Sarmishtha terminating in his union with her and his reconciliation with Queen Devayani.

Visvanatha lived at Warrangal under the patronage of Pratapa Rudra Deva (1294-1325 A. D.) He appears to have flourished at the beginning of the 14th century. Left as an orphan while yet a child, he was educated by his uncle Agastya whose name among the learned of the day was foremost. Called upon to entertain an assembly of Pandits at the Warrangal durbar, he wrote his *Saugandhikaharanam*. Occupying but a short interval, the dramatic piece has only one continued scene, forming a long vehement altercation between Bhima and Hanuman. The plot is based on the story of the Mahabharata, wherein Draupadi, enamoured of the beauty of the flower brought by a Gandharva, requests Bhima to fetch some more when the *incognito* brothers were about to come to blows. Kubera intercedes and squares up the feud by explanation and by a direct presentation of a cluster of flowers to Yudhistira. The speeches are throughout very vigorous and insinuating. The language has traces of the Panchali style. It must have most aptly succeeded in its end, especially in an assembly of the learned of the time.

Bhaskarah as left no indications of his time or life. His *Unmatta-Raghava* is composed to entertain an assembly of learned men, met together to pay homage to Vidyaranya. If this latter were identical with the famous scholar of Vijianagar, then the work must be assigned to the middle of *the 14th century*. This piece of a single act describes the maddened soliloquies of Rama owing to the sudden disappearance of Sita in the recesses of a shady garden, where, on account of the curse of Durvasas, blossom-collection is prohibited on pain of the trespasser being turned to a deer. Agastya understands the mistake and restores Sita to Rama, freed from the effects of the unconscious curse. The whole story is a close imitation of the fourth act of Vikramorvasi. The composition does lack not high-soaring imagination and a natural diction.

Vamana Bhatta Bana was born in the Trilinga country. He had his patron in the King Vema of Addanki—otherwise famous as Viranarayana. A copper plate grant mentions his name and is dated Saka 1333 *i.e.* 1441 A. D. Besides a Bana is mentioned in the *Sabda-Chandrika*, as the pupil of Vidyaranya. This is quite probable, as Vijianagar was adjacent to the dominion of King Vira. This additional evidence assigns our poet to the last quarter of the 13th and the first of the 14th century A. D. The conjecture is that Vamana might have been the original name and the addition of Bana was a later one, consequent on his successful execution of his prose-work the *Veeranarayana Charitam*, in the plan of the Harshacharita. His *Sringara-bhushana-bhanam* is a drama of a single act with its hero Vilasasekhara, describing his amorous adventures. He is perhaps better than Bana in his mastery over poetry, and his prose, as far as it has been accessible, is well written and warrants the same remarks as Bana's. His

verse is free-flowing and has many of the melodious touches of Bhoja in it.

Krishnadatta was a brahmin of Mithila. He was a devotee of Krishna. Educated in the Northern universities, he was patronised by King Purushottamadeva of Orissa (1478-1503 A. D.) His *Puranjaya Charita*—a drama in five acts—is founded on the story as related in the Bhagavata Purana. His *Kuvalayasviya*—a drama in seven acts—is founded on the story of a Vedic student falling in love with a maiden Madalasa. She is carried away to the nether world whence she is rescued by a prince of Kasi and restored to her lover. The scenes are well-laid and the descriptions are fanciful. The poet however shows his close intimacy with the dramatic literature of his day.

Rupa Goswamin appears to be a very strange author. He has left no traces of his own life and what is more deplorable is that even his name does not appear in the prologues or colophons of his works. He was a devotee of Krishna and dwelt near the precincts of modern Muttra. He was a disciple of Chaitanya of the latter half of the 15th century A. D. His *Vidagdha-madhava* has the date of its composition *Samvat* 1589. This authentic evidence assigns Rupa to the first half of *the 16th century*. It is a drama of seven acts describing the amorous intrigues of Radha and Krishna. It is more a poem than a drama and follows closely the idyl of Jayadeva on the same subject. His *Danakelikaumudi* belongs to the *Bhana* class of dramatic composition with its self-same hero Krishna. Rupa is a true poet and his verse is always of an unstrained construction. Long compounds do not mar the effect of easy intelligibility. Not unfrequently his poetic

fancies are good and fresh, and his lines have an air of simplicity around them.

Yuvaraja was a native of Kotilingapura in the Kerala country. No evidence has been attainable regarding his life or lineage. He can safely on the evidence of style be assigned to the 15 or the 16th century. His *Rasasadana-bhana* is a dramatic poem of a single act, composed on the occasion of a Kali festival. The ruling sentiment is love. A *Vita* is the hero and narrator. His ideas are very fanciful and beautiful and he not unfrequently writes in the *Vaidarbhi* style. Some of his fancies are rather rare and significant :—

राका मुखेन दशमी च कपोलकान्त्या ।
फालेन पञ्चमतिथिः प्रतिपन्नखाङ्कैः ।
एषा कुहूरपि कचप्रकरेण धत्ते ।
प्रायः समस्ततिथिसंग्रहभाजनत्वम् ॥

At times his metres are generally strange and perhaps slightly unmelodious (82, 106). On the whole, however, his *Ramacharita*, a poem lately printed in Puna, presents much of poetic art and natural description.

Mathuradasa was born of the Kayasta sect in the city of Suvarnasekhara near the banks of the Jumna. He was a votary of Krishna and pupil of the learned Krishnadasa. Research has not yet identified our poet's native city. It is conjectured he might have lived somewhere about the *15th century*, or perhaps earlier. His drama, *Vrishabhanuja*, is a Natika of four acts and describes the love of Krishna the son of Nanda and Radha the daughter of Vrishabhanu.

Samaraja-dikshit belonged to Central India. He was a contemporary of Anandaraya of Bundelkand of the latter half of the *16th century*. Hls *Sridamacharita*—a drama in five acts—describes the sudden afflence of Sridaman. The source of the plot is the tenth Skanda of Sri Bhagavata. Though there is little of dramatic construction, the verses are noted for their melody and vivacity and the lengthy descriptions will better suit a poem.

The **Vasantika-tilaka** describes the marriage of Vasantika, a wood-nymph, with Ahobileswara. It is a drama intended to celebrate the form of divinity so called. It is the work of a Vaishnava priest of a celebrated religious establishment at Ahobila. He was patronised by Mukundadeva, a Gajapati prince of the *sixteenth century*. The descriptions of vernal scenes are very natural and delightful. The beauty and modesty of Vasantika are happily depicted and the language has a flowing grace in it.

Uddanda was the son of Krishna and grandson of Gokulanatha. He belonged to the Apastamba School of the Vadhula clan. His birth place was the village of Latapura near the modern Kanchi. Passing his literary career at the various seats of learning of Southern India, he settled in Malabar under the patronage of Sakta Mana Vikrama. His reference to Kukkuta-Kroda (the modern Calicut) and Sthaliswara confirms the residence of Uddanda at the capita of the Zamorin. Tradition says he was a contemporary of Narayana Bhattasri, the renowned author of the lyric, Dasavatarastava. For the present *the sixteenth century* A. D. must be accepted the probable date of Uddanda's literary activity. His *Mallika-maruta* is a *prakarana* in ten acts and

the only work extant of our poet. The drama follows in strict detail the plot of the Malati-madhava. But the wide learning of Uddanda tended to improve upon Bhavabhuti's construction in various details of development. The plot relates the affections of two sets of lovers, Mallika and Maruta, and Ramayantika and Kalakantha. Mandakini answers to Kamandaki, as the Yogini that is the means of their ultimate marriage. So does Kalindi resemble Avalokita. Uddanda's touches are not always original. The Rakshasa scene from the Venisamhara and the soliloquy scene from the Vikramorvasi are among Uddanda's sources of imitation. Apart from the success of the story as a dramatic composition, the language is most attractive. The style deserves to be placed in the literature of the sixth or seventh century. The verses are smooth-running and the metres are best suited for the occasion and character. The speeches abound in apt illustration and proverbial generalisation.

Jayadeva was the son of Mahadeva and Sumitra of the Kaundinya Gotra. He was a devotee of Rama and was deeply versed in the srautas and sastras and had the titles of *Peeyushavarsha* and *Pakshadhara*. He lived in Vidarbha and studied under Harimisra. He calls himself a great logician, and from this fact is generally supposed to be the author of *Manyaloka*. From an allegorical reference in the introduction to his drama, he is known to be a contemporary of Appayyadikshit of the *16th century*. His *Prasanna Raghava* is a drama in seven acts describing the story of Rama. The first act is most amusing, where the demons, Bana and Ravana, are brought in and ridiculed. The loves of Rama and Sita are depicted and the scene of Rama's encounter with Jamadagnya is the most graphic of all. The seventh Act introduces a pair of Vidya-

dhara spouse to describe the war ending Ravana's death and Sita's purification and restoration. As usual the pieces conclude with the journey of the victorious hero and his allies to Ayodhya in the celestial car of Pushpaka. Compared with some other dramas of the same story, the innovations on the original are not few. But the poet's imagination has given a graceful relief to the plot as a whole. His poetry has been conceded a high place in the lyrical art. The simplicity and naturalness of his language is remarkable, relatively to the deteriorating tendencies of his age.

Sundaramisra lived about the end of the *16th century* and wrote the *Abhiramamani* in 1599 A.D.—a drama of seven acts describing the whole life of Rama.

Krishnakavi or Seshakrishna, was the son of Nrisimha. His patron was Todar, the finance minister of Emperor Akbar (1556—1605 A.D). His *Kamsavadha*—a drama in seven acts—describes the events leading to the death of Kamsa at Krishna's hands. The source of the play is the tenth Skanda of Sri-Bhagavata.

Kavikarnapura was born of the Vaidya family in 1525 A. D. at Kanchanapura. His *Chaitanyachandrodaya* dramatises the history of the reformer Chaitanya after the model of the Probodhachandrodaya. His other work—*Alankara-Kaustubha*—testifies to his rhetorical learning.

Nilakantha has been noticed in detail already as the author of Sivalilarnava Mahakavya. His *Nalacharitanatakam* is a drama of seven acts describing the history of Nala. The

plot seems to be based on Sri Harsha's Naishadhiyam, but details have not been accessible.

Ramabhadra was born in the family of Chaturvedi-yajvans in the village of Kandara-manikyam near Kumba-konam. His father was Yagnarama Dikshit, a specialist in Grammar and the *Darsanas*. He was himself a sound grammarian and he was known among his friends as *Pratyagra-Patanjali*. Though a Saivite, he was a staunch votary of Rama and every one of his writings bears upon the story of Rama. He was pupil of Nilakantha, who on the authority of his own *champu* flourished about 1638 A.D. So his work, the *Janakiparinaya*, a drama in 7 acts, is safely assigned to the middle of *the 17th century.* The records of Tanjore show that our poet settled in Shahirajpur in 1693. His demise must have been somewhere near the beginning of the eighteenth century. The drama obviously treats of Rama and his life. The plot is very skilfully woven. The version of Valmiki is in no way strictly adhered to. The first four acts are purely the work of the poet's imagination. The play is a counter-part of the Comedy of Errors. Two sets of characters are brought to action, the one genunine and the other disguised, so that a confusion arises among themselves when they are made to meet each other. Vidyujjihva, Ravana and Sarana appear respecting as Kausika, Rama and Laxmana and so does Tataka as Sita. The marriage of Rama and Sita comes up not at Mithila but at the hermitage of Visvamitra. Most noteworthy is an inter-drama, enacted at Ravana's durbar. The sub-plot begins with Rama's search for Sita and closes with Vali's warfare. The last act brings up the culmination of the mischief of the Rakshasas. Surpanaka shows herself to Bharata in the disguise of a Tapasi and leads him to a misapprehension of

Rama's death. Just when Bharata was prepared to mount the funeral pile, Rama's arrival is announced and all ends happily with the coronation of Rama. The drama must be considered a master-piece of Ramabhadra. The style is learned and amusing. The poetry is not intricate and the whole story of the Ramayana is run over with rapidity without omitting reference to any important detail. It must appear to be a far more successful production than Bhavabhuti's Mahaviracharita. Among Ramabhadra's other works are *Sringaratilaka-bhana Ramabana-stava* and *Patanjali-charita*.

Chakra-kavi was the son of Lokanatha. He was a contemporary of Nilakantha and so must be assigned to the former half of *the 17th century*. He appears to have been patronised by the Pandya and Chola princes. His dramatic triad *Janaki-parinayam*, *Gauri-parinayam* and *Draupadi-parinayam* respectively describe the marriages of Sita, Parvati and Draupadi. Information says that each of these has five acts and the plots are very skilfully constructed. The poet however is at times verbose and indulges in verbal trickery. His *Chitra-Ratnakara* deals with the verbal figures of speech as also with the verbal formulæ of poetic composition.

Atiratra-yajvan was a younger brother of Nilakantha. He was himself well-versed in the *tantras* and *kratus*, besides being born a poet and commentator. He was a specialist in the Saiva-Siddhanta. His time falls in the middle of *the 17th century*. His *Kusa-kumudvatiyam*—a drama in five acts—describes the loves of Kusa, the eldest son of Rama, and Kumudvati, the princess of the Naga race. He is also known to have written a poem called the *Prati-Raghuvamsa*, obviously teaing of the history of the Solar race.

Mahadeva was a native of Palmaner in the Madras presidency. He was a Kaundinya and a Saivite. Nilakantha was his contemporary and so he belongs to the first half of the *17th century*. His *Adbhuta-darpana* narrates the progress of Rama's war onwards from Hanuman's return from Ceylon.

Chandrasekhara was a native of Bundlekand. His father was Gopinatha. He was tutor to King Vira who flourished in the second half of *the 17th century*. His *Madhuraniruddha* —a drama of eight acts—describes in a very attractive form the secret loves of Bana's daughter Usha and Aniruddhra, concluding in the defeatof Bana and the union of the loving couple.

Anandarayamakhi was born near Tanjore in the family of Nrisimharaya. His father was a minister of Sahiraja of Tanjore (1684-1711 A.D.) and must therefore have lived in the first quarter of the *18th century*. Two dramas of his have come down to us—the *Jivananda-nataka* of five acts and the *Vidyaparinaya* of six. The language is throughout very vigorous nd learned, but wants dramatic beauty.

Sankara-dikshit was a native of Bundlekand and flourished in the first half of the *18th century*. His *Pradyumnavijaya*—a drama of seven acts—describes the victory of Pradyumna over the Daitya chief Vajranabha. The source of the play is the Harivamsa. The occasion for the composition was the coronation festival of King Sabhasimha of Parma.

Vaidyanatha flourished at Nuddea in the reign of Iswarachandra in the *18th century*. His *Chaitrayagna*—a drama o five acts—describes the legend of Daksha. The interposition of Sanskirt songs, fitting the drama better for the stage, is something remarkable.

Ramavarma was born near Kanchi in the Keralas. He was of the royal family of Kulasekhara. Born in 1755, he died an uncrowned prince in 1787 A. D. His *Rukminiparinaya*, a drama of five acts, relates the marriage of Krishna and Rukmini. Among his other works are *Kartavirya-Vijaya-champu* and *Sringara-sudhakara-bhana.*

Visvesvara was the son of Laxmidhara of the race of Pande. He was born *in the first quarter of the eighteenth century*. Deveswara, eighth in descent from him, is still known to be living near Anupasahar on the Ganges. He began his writings when he was barely ten and ended his active literary career in the fortieth year of his age. About twenty-five works of his have come down to us. He was a perfect adept in lyric and rhetoric. His *Navamalika* is a natika in four acts, following mechanically the plan of the Ratnavali. *Sringara-manjari* is Sattaka in pure *prakrit.* The name is that of the heroine and the plot of the work was obviously suggested by the Karpuramanjari of Rajasekhara. Whatever may be the faults of construction, the poetry has much ease and music in it.

Ramesvara was the son of Ramadeva Tarkavagisa. He was a native of Vanga and flourished *in the first half of the 18th century*. His patron was Chitrasena, King of Mana. His *Chandrabhisheka* is a drama in seven acts and describes the story of the destruction of the Nandas by Chanakya and the coronation of Chandragupta. The scene in the seventh act is interesting, where Rakshasa receives a letter that the Nandas are at the point of death owing to a burning fever produced by a Yoga commenced by Chanakya. The style resembles Visakhadatta's as also the plot istelf. But the tricks of policy, that are so

amazing in the latter, are not so original or prominant in Ramesvara's work.

CHAPTER VII.

LYRICAL AND DIDACTIC POETRY.

The earliest compositions of the **Religious** branch of lyrical poetry are to be found interweaved in the Samhita of the Atharvan. These songs are used as magic spells and exorcising charms, but in no way do they display a decayed state of soceity overcome by " superstitious terror and uneasy apprehension." " The hymns of this collection," says Weber " are no longer the expression of direct religious emotion." This is inconsistent on the face of it. If there were no sincerity in the religious conviction, there would be no standing ground for the use of spells and incantations. If in the Indian religious literature sincerity is to be sought for, it is prominent in the environments of the Atharva Samhita. The Epics and the Puranas preserve poetic prayers in praise of particular deities and in the Tantra literature they find their classcial expression. " It is in particular by the heaping up of titles under which the several deities are invoked that their favour is thought to be won; and the *thousand-name-prayers* form a special class by themselves. To this category belong also the prayers in amulet form to which a prodigious virtue is ascribed and which enjoy the highest repute even in the present day." The modern forms of the religious lyrics are termed *Stotras*, which embody in them not only philosophical ideas of devotion but some of the finest touches of poetic art and imagination.

The **Erotic** branch is amorous and worldly in its nature. Religious conceptions have no record therein. The earliest of them are found scattered in the hymns of the Yajus and the Saman Samhitas. The Epics and the Puranas have, though not in isolated pieces, series of verses devoted to amorous descriptions and Valmiki's poetry not unfrequently displays a perfection of lyrical poetry. It is not, until we come to the first centuries of the Christian era, that we find whole poems devoted to the erotic poetry. The lines are often drawn with a master-hand and eminent poetic success. The poet finds the fullest scope for his imagination. Nature plays the most prominent part. The plant and the animal are treated with much charm. "Various birds to which poetic myths are attached are frequently introduced as furnishing analogies to human life and love. The *Chataka*, which would rather die of thirst than drink aught but the rain-drops from cloud, affords an illustration of pride. The *Chakora*, supposed to imbibe the rays of the moon, affords a parallel to the lover who with his eyes drinks in the beams of his beloved face. The *Chakravaka*, which, fabled to be condemned to nocturnal separation from his mate, calls to her with plaintive cry during the watches of the night, serves as an emblem of conjugal fidelity. In all this lyric poetry the bright eyes and beauty of Indian girls find a setting in scenes brilliant with blossoming trees, fragrant with flowers, gay with the plumage and vocal with the song of birds, diversified with lotus ponds steeped in tropical sunshine and with large-eyed gazelles reclining in the shade."

The **Didactic** literature forms the largest bulk of the minor Indian poetry. The philosophical tendency of the Indian mind cultivated the science of morals since the dawn of its civilization, which found an abundant expression in the so-called *Niti-*

sastras. "Scattered throughout the most various departments of Sanskrit literature are innumerable apophthegms in which wise and noble, striking and original thoughts often appear in a highly finished and poetical garb. These are plentiful in the law books ; in the epic and the drama they are frequently on the lips of heroes, sages and gods ; and in fables are constantly uttered by tigers, jackals, cats and other animals. Above all, the Mahabharata, which to the pious Hindu constitutes a moral encyclopædia, is an inexhaustible mine of proverbial philosophy. It is, however, natural that ethical maxims should be introduced in great abundance into works which, like the Panchatantra and Hitopadesa, were intended to be handbooks of practical moral philosophy." The doctrinal keynote of all didactic poetry is the vanity of mundane pleasure and human existence. Retirement from the world and tranquillity of heart is the only goal. Universal brotherhood and national tolerance form the theme of the ethical sermons.

Kalidasa as a poet and dramatist has been described. His *Meghaduta* is a lyric piece of about a hundred and odd stanzas. The poet ascribes to the cloud human organs and feelings. The poem opens with the sight of a cloud by Yaksha, who was by a curse separated from his beloved wife. He imagines a friendly messenger and addresses him. He lays down the route leading to Yaksha's home at Alakapuri. He then describes the probable condition of his wife and lastly the substance of the message itself. The route chosen affords to the poet splendid opportunities to allude to many interesting scenes in Hindu nature and mythology. The poem has been for centuries a standard of poetic art. The plan by itself shows the originality of Kalidasa and this poem, short as it is, contributes as much glory to his name as his

Sakuntala. This has been a paragon of so many later imitations, which, as all imitations must be, have never attained to the perfectness of the original. Kalidasa executed this "not with the dullness of prosaic detail, but with the true poetic pencil, which by a few happy touches brings the subject of his description vividly before the mind's eye." The *Syamala-dandakam* is a short prose poem, very melodious and musical. It is a panegyric address to Sarasvati. Its popularity has made it the first work imparted to young students, just at the dawn of their studies. The *Sringara-tilakam* is a charming piece of only twenty-three verses. Some of the ideas are highly original and imaginative. The *Rakshasa-Kavya* of barely twenty verses relates the descriptive address of a lover to his beloved. The language is most artificial and a superficial observer would decline to argue for Kalidasa's authorship. The *Pushpabanavilasam* is a short erotic piece of true poetic imagery and lofty sentiment. The *Ritusamharam* is without dispute the work of Kalidasa. The six chapters of the book are in due order devoted to the six conventional Indian seasons. "With glowing descriptions of the beauties of nature, in which erotic scenes are interspersed, the poet adroitly interweaves the expression of human emotions. Perhaps no other work of Kalidasa's manifests so strikingly the poet's deep sympathy with nature, his keen powers of observation and his skill in depicting the Indian landscape in vivid colors." The *Nalodaya*, a poem in four cantos, describes the restoration of Nala to his lost throne, under the nominal authorship of Kalidasa. "The chief aim of the author is to show off his skill in the manipulation of the most varied and artificial metres, as well as all the elaborate tricks of style exhibited in the latest Kavyas. Rhyme even is introduced, and that, too, not only at the end of, but within metrical lines. The

really epic material is but scantily treated, narrative making way for long descriptions and lyrical effusions. Thus the second and longest of the four cantos of the poem is purely lyrical, describing only the basis of newly-wedded pair, with all kinds of irrelevant additions."

Ghatakarpara is traditionally known to have flourished along with the nine gems at Vikrama's court, probably in *the sixth century A. D.* His small poem bearing the same name as himself is extremely artificial in its nature. The ideas however are fanciful. Owing to the employment of *Yamaka* the freedom of the language is impeded. His *Nitisaram* is a short didactic piece in the form of an interesting dialogue between the hog and the lion. Most of the verses are highly imaginative and the ideas exceedingly amusing.

Bhartrihari or Hari was an elder brother of Vikrama of Ujjain. The prefix Brartri denotes the royal descent. He was a great grammarian and his *Vakyapadiya* and *Sara* are two standard works in grammar. The first is in the form of *karikas* and the second is a commentary on the Mahabhashya. Tradition says, he renounced all worldly ties, having suffered much at the hands of a wicked shrew in his younger years. The identity of Bhartrihari with Bhatti has not been proved. Some make the latter a son of the former. The confusion arose out of the fact that *Bhatti* is a *prakritised* form of *Bhartri*. Somehow there is the coincidence that both of these were good grammarians. The name Bhartrihari is mentioned in an inscription of the eighth century. According to the account of T-sing, he flourished before the middle of *the seventh century* and died in A. D. 651. His *three satakas* on *Niti*, *Sringara*, and *Vairagya* have come down to us. They are a collection of sensible

verses, fit to be an instructive primer to a beginner in worldly life. There is not much of poetic beauty but some of the stanzas are noted for their lyrical harmony.

Muka was according to tradition a contemporary of Sankara. He was a native of Kanchi. He was at least in his earlier years an idiot, till by sudden inspiration, regarded as almost miraculous, he blazed forth into a great poet. The story goes that at the founding of the Kamapitha, the dumb lad soon after a hypnotic bath got the use of his tongue and straightway the divine affatus came upon him and he poured forth his heart in profuse strains of unpremeditated art. His poem in praise of Devi is known as *Panchasati*. It consists of five centuries—*arya*, *padaravinda*, *stuti*, *kataksha* and *mandasmita satakas*. On the authority of the tradition, the work must be assigned to *the 8th century*. That he is a great poet goes without saying. His command over vocabulary and idiom is truly wonderful. His charm of expression is for the ear not for our feeble pen. In style, Muka's strongly compares with Sankara's lyrical panegyrics. His *Kataksha-satakam* and *Kamakshi-stuti-satakam* form a store-house of fanciful poetic composition.

Bhallata was a Kashmirian by birth. His *Sataka* called after him resembles the Niti Sataka of Bhartrihari. Inanimate objects are addressed and the collection is intended to give instruction in morals. He is quoted by Kshemendra and Abhinava Gupta and must therefore be assigned to about *the eigth century A. D.* His verses are strained and unmusical. But the thoughts and imaginations are instructive.

Sankara, the great Advaitic reformer, flourished Saka 742, *i.e.* 820 A. D. His work was purely in philosophy. Of

his literary writings, the *Sivanandalahari* is a collection of one hundred verses—encomiums on God Siva. The *Soundarya-lahari* is a centum of panegyric-verses in honor of the goddess Parvati, representing a personification of the divine power as exhibited in the creation, sustenance and destruction of the world. The *Sivabhujangastotra* consists of thirty-seven verses of the *bhujanga-prayata* metre in praise of Siva. The language is everywhere musical and perhaps adapted to the lyre. Throughout the element of *bhakti* is transcendent and these works rightly deserve a place among the religious works of the Hindus.

Amaru-sataka is a centum of verses attributed to Amaru on the sentiment of love. By orthodox tradition, the poem was the work of *Sankara*, who by transmigration entered the body of King Amaru. Lines from this are quoted by Ananda-vardhana, who flourished in Kashmere between 850 and 890 A. D. The tradition, though not very credible, may show that these were contemporaries. Dr. Peterson quotes from a commentary,

"विश्वप्रख्यातनाडिन्धमकुलतिलको विश्वकर्माद्वितीयः"

from which we understand the author belonged to the gold-smith's class.

Lolambaraja was a brahmin of Southern India. Bred up uneducated by his affectionate elder brother, he was slighted by his sister-in-law, whereupon he resorted in vexed spirits to the Saptasringa and by divine gift composed the *Harivilasa*. It is a short poem describing the story of Krishna from his advent in the house of Nanda to the message of Uddhava. He was in the court of King Harihara, contemporary with King Bhoja of

Dhar, and so belongs to *the tenth century* A. D. The language shows a natural flow and musical charm.

Jayadeva, the author of the *Gita Govinda*, was the son of Bhojadeva and Vamadevi. He was a high caste brahmin of the Kayastha sect in Bengal and native of Tindubilva. A devotee of Krishna, he sung his praise before an idol of the god and allowed his wife to dance in accompaniment to his songs. He was in life a court-poet of Laxmanasena, a Vaidya King of Bengal, whose inscription at Gaya is dated Samvat 1173 or A. D. 1116. So our poet falls about the same time. The work has twelve sargas and each contains twenty-four astapadis. Each of these begins with a chorus followed by eight feet, at the end of each of which the chorus is repeated. The work is note-worthy as one of the few that have come down to us from a remote antiquity and gives us some insight into the music of ancient India.

Govardhana's Aryasaptasati served as the model for the *satta-sai* of Bihari Lal. Referred to by Jayadeva, he must have flourished about the end of *the 11th century*.

Vilvamangala or Lilasuka was a brahmin of Somagiri. He had a concubine Chintamani, who, good and pious as she was, preached to him devotion to Krishna. Thereupon he learnt from a Yati the *Krisha-mantra* whereby he propitiated the divine being by his sincerest devotions. "After his death, he was born as Jayadeva and composed the Gitagovinda. In the next birth he was born as Narayanatirtha, also a votary of Krishna and wrote the Krishnalilatarangini." This legend at least shows that the author preceded Jayadeva of the court of Laxmanasena of 1116 A.D. Lilasuka must have lived at the

close of *the 11th century.* His *Krishna-Karnamrita* is a lyric in praise of Krishna, with three parts each of one hundred and odd stanzas. It has been a daily recital of all youngsters in India and is appreciated mostly for its music and harmony. The thoughts embodied in some of the verses are a fit exercise in gesture-dancing.

Kshemendra's Charucharya is a century of moral aphorisms in simple sanskrit, each with a proverbial sanction of the orthodox kind appended to it, which gives a quaint and pleasing picture of virtue's ways of the Kashmir of his time.

Bilhana, the Kashmirian poet of the twelfth century, wrote the *Chaura-panchasika.* It is a collection of about fifty verses, recapitulating the pleasures of his company with Sasilekha, a princess whose tutor he was. The occasion for the composition was when he was taken to the gallows to be executed for having enticed his student princess to a *gandharva* union. The ideas were so appealing, the verse so charming and the sincerity so truth-reflecting, that he was pardoned and given the hand of his beloved Sasilekha. To-day the work is the standard of a delightful lyric and no youth of India fails to get up by heart at least a few of these verses.

Sridharadasa wrote his *Sadukti-Karnamrita* in 1205 A.D. It contains quotations from 446 poets, mostly of Bengal. The work represents the author's father in the service of king Laxmanasena.

Merutunga was a Jain by religion. He had a historical taste and so composed the *Prabandha-chintamani* at Wadhwan on the Visakha full moon Samvat 1362 (A.D. 1306). The work

is divided into five chapters, each of which again into a number of *prabandhas* or essays. There are 80 such stories on the whole, the first of these treating of the history of Vikramaditya.

Sarngadhara was the son of Damodara. His grand-father Raghavadeva was minister of Hammira, the Sakambhari prince, who reigned at Chittore in the thirteenth century. His *Paddhati* is an anthology of about 6,000 verses culled from 264 different works and authors. It was probably composed about the *fourteenth century*. In 163 *parichhedas*, it brings together the gems of sanskrit poetry, under various headings.

Rajasekhara, the younger, lived near Patna. His *Prabandhakosa* is a collection of half-historical tales and biographies in barbarous sanskrit prose, the style resembling that of the Panchatantra. All his information was obtained from his teacher Tilakasuri and the work was finished at Delhi in *Samvat* 1405 (1348 A.D.) His patron was Madanasimha, the son of Jayasimha, an intimate favourite of Mahamad Toghlak Shah.

Vedanta Desika the renowned author of the Yadavabhyudaya, lived in the *14th century*. His *Hamsasandesa* is a poem on the model of Kalidasa's original. "It is grafted on the well-known story of Rama. The plot combines the advantage of fiction, while it gains in illusive power by a short of veri-similitude in being so grafted on what is believed to be historical." On the banks of the Pampa lake Rama beholds a swan, and reminded of his lost wife, he imagines the swan as a messenger to his beloved Sita at Lanka. The path is arranged through some of the famous shrines and rivers. Sita's condition in prison is most pathetically described. "Perhaps judged with the western canons of criticism, the poem may be found wanting

in what is called the criticism of life or the transfiguration of life. In our view, every stanza is a clean cut diamond and the whole forms a breath of lovely and pious thoughts offered at the feet of Lord Rama." His *Subhashitanivi* is an ethical piece in twelve *paddhatis* treating of dullness, haughtiness, roguery, virtue, conduct, etc. The language is not simple but the expression is sublime and thoughtful. Among his other works noted for lyrical and didactic beauty are the *Gopalavimsati*, the *Bhustuti*, the *Varadapanchasat*, the *Prarthanastabakam* and the *Hayagrivastotram*. His *Sankalpa-Suryodayam* is a philosophical drama after the manner of Krishnamisra's work.

Jagaddhara was the grandson of a niece of Sitikantha, who was a contemporary of King Hussan of Kashmir (1472-1484). Allowing about 20 years for each generation he flourished about 1350 A. D. His *Stuti-kusumanjali* is a lyrical collection of praise on several deities. The scholar is everywhere apparent. The mythological imagery is most wonderful. He is known to be the author of the *Balabodhini* and a *Katantravritti* for the instruction of his young son.

Visvanatha Kaviraja was the son of Chandrasekhara. He was a *Mahapatra* and hence a brahmin. In his public career he held the office of a *Sandhi-vigrahika*. He refers to Jayanta and Allayuddin, of whom the former composed his Prakasa-dipika in 1350 A.D. and Allayuddin, the famous Khilji marauder, was assassinated in 1237 A. D. Besides, Govinda-Takkura alludes to him in the Kavyapradipa, written about the first half of the fifteenth century. Visvanatha's literary activity was about Saka 1287 (1365 A.D.). He is the reputed author of three long poems. The *Raghava-vilasam* describes the history of Rama. The *Kuvalayasva-charitam* is a prakrit poem. The *Prasasti-ratnavali* is a collection of

panegyrics in different vernaculars sixteen in number. The *Narasimha-vijayam* describes the story of the incarnation of Vishnu and the killing of Hiranyaksha. His style is always very musical and refined. We can see no confusion of rhetorical devices and the narration is successfully managed.

Pattubhatta was born in the village of Kakamranipura near Musilipatam. He was a brahmin of the Vadhula clan. His *Prasanga-ratnavali* was written in Saka 1338 (A.D. 1416). It is a collection of miscellaneous descriptions and comprises stanzas on moral and social duties, rules for particular ceremonies and personal conduct and sketches of individual biography and character. The 77th chapter gives short accounts of princes from the great Vikramaditya to Simhabhupati, Raja of Pittapur. The ideas are short and concise. Proverbial expressions are abundant. The whole work is written in a flowery and obscure style and there is little of true history in it. The author however was a poet, true and unstrained. His language shows much of literary acquaintance.

Dhanadaraja was the son of Dehala and came of the Sona race. Like Bhartrihari he composed his three Satakas on *Sringara*, *Niti* and *Vairagya* in A. D. 1434 but the language is not so unornamented as that of Bhartrihari. The ideas are more advanced and more artfully clothed.

Sayana was the elder brother of Madhava and prime-minister to King Kanipa, the brother of Bukka. He therefore belongs to the beginning of *the 15th century*. His *Subhashita-Sudhanidhi* eulogises his patron and was compiled solely to enlighten him. It is an anthology with eighty-four *paddhatis*. The collection was meant to inculcate the duties of a King.

His selection therefore is based on that end in view. Passages that are of no practical utility but interesting purely from a poetical point of view have been avoided.

Vidyapati was patronised by King Devasimha of Nulhit. His *Bhuparikramanam* journeys round the earth according to the cosmogonical geography of the Puranas and describes the fifty-six countries beginning with Anga. He refers to the invasion of Rajputana by Allaudin and the earliest MS. of his work is dated Saka 1537. The poet must probably have flourished about the end of the *fifteenth century*.

Ramachandra was the son of Laxmanabhatta. He belonged to the Mahrata class of Brahmins. He composed the lyric *Rasikaranjanam* in A. D. 1524. Every verse has two interpretations, the one referring to love and the other to renunciation. The language is learned though not natural. A successful appreciation is impossible without a commentary.

Sri Hari was a contemporary of Emperor Akbar (1556-1605 A. D.). His poetic fame got him the name of *Akbariya Kalidasa*. His native country however appears to be the Dekkan and he betrays a very close acquaintance with the literature of his country. His *Haravali* is a wise collection of verses, many of which belong to Kashmirian poets. None of his original works have come to light.

Jaganmohana was patronised by Baijapala of the Chohan race of Patna. He flourished in the second half of the *16th century*. His *Desavali-vivriti* is almost a complete geography and describes 56 kingdoms, including the old and the new. Many Persian words have found their way into the poet's language.

Pandava-vijayam of unknown authorship is a long poem of more than an estimated volume of 2,000 folios—bigger than the Mahabharata. It is a medley of history and fiction. It describes the most noted places in India, summing up all tradition connected with each place. It is remarkable as giving us a detail of Indian manners and customs before and after the Muhamadan conquest. The work has not yet been fully accessible nor ransacked and the conjecture is that it must have been composed about *the 17th century.* The language however is reported to be in the style of the Kavyas and the descriptions are enlivening and not necessarily monotonous.

Jagannadha Pandita Raja flourished *in the seventeenth century*. As a rhetorician, his life is better known in a later chapter. His lyrics are lucid and musical. The *Amritalahari* celebrates the praise to Jumna, and the *Karunalahari* to Vishnu. The *Pranabharana* describes the splendour of King Prana Narayana of Kamarupa. Lastly the *Bhaminivilasa* is widely known and is a collection of verses describing the amours of women. Everywhere his verse have a natural flow and his technical learning does not as usual mar by its interference the beauties of lyrical poetry.

Madhava flourished about the end of *the 17th century.* The oldest MS. of his *Uddhavaduta* is dated 1742 Saka in the town of Talita. The subject is the message to Krishna sent through Uddhava by a milkmaid Vrindavana. The work is a slavish imitation of the Meghaduta.

Vikrama was the son of Sangama. He flourished in the square of our modern Ceded Districts about the first half of the

17th century. His *Nemiduta* is a beautiful little poem of 124 stanzas. Nemi of the Yadu race, longing for salvation, gave up his riches and in his wanderings took shelter in an asrama, the same as was the resort of the forlorn Yaksha of Kalidasa. His wife followed him and seeing her husband entirely imbibed ascetic tendencies asked a mountain to carry a message. The story keeps close pace with the Meghaduta and what is most wonderful is that every last line of the latter work is kept unhandled and the three other lines are framed to suit the meaning and the context. The poet had apparently an exercise in *Samasya-puranam.*

Visveswara has been assigned to *the eighteenth century.* His full life has been given in the chapter on the dramatic literature. He is a very successful lyric poet and famed for melody and grace of language. At least three of his lyric poems are worth mention. His *Ramavalisatakam* and *Vakshojasatakam* are two centuries of highly imaginative verses. Their names denote the subject. His *Shad-rituvarnanam* describes in order all the six Indian seasons after the plan of the Ritusamhara. Descriptions of natural scenery are vividly touched and some of the lines are more musical than Kalidasa's.

Vrajanatha was the son of Ramakrishna. He was a Tailinga brahmin of the N. W. Provinces. He wrote his *Manoduti Kavya* in A.D. 1758 at Brindatavi. It describes the devout reflections of Draupadi on Krishna during the scene of her outrage at Duryodhana's court. The poem closes with the description of the endless expansion of Draupadi's apparel and the consequent disgrace to the Kaurava princes. The plan of the poem was undoubtedly suggested by the Meghaduta, but it is no bare imitation of Kalidasa's work, nor

is it written in the same metre. The ideas are fanciful and appealing, but the style is not so amusing as Kalidasa's.

CHAPTER VIII.

SANSKRIT PROSE.

The earliest passages in prose that have successfully survived "the ship-wreck of Sanskrit literature" are to be sought for in the Samhita of the *Black Yajus*. Unlike the Samhita of the Rik which is purely a lyrical collection of hymns, the Taittiriya Samhita contains prose portions in it, which formed the only Brahmanas in the Katha and Maitrayaniya Schools. In the Samhita, the sacrificial formulæ were accompanied by dogmatic explanations and by descriptions of ceremonials pertaining thereto. These explanations were elucidations of the sacrificial enigmas and embodied the speculations of generations of priests. These *dicta theologica* were imparted by oral tradition, preserved as well as supplemented by the course of years in different families or parishads. The more numerous these works became, the more unsystematic their contents grew. Harmony was needed to bring them to order. To this end, compilations of the different opinions were uniformly arranged under different headings and such digests were in later times called the *Brahmanas*. These were in most cases regular commentaries in prose on the vedic hymns, explanatory and analytical. This practice of adopting a prose-style for linguistic explanations and traditional narratives introduced into this Vedic period descended to the Puranic period. The Mahabharata and the Puranas contain prose portions in them, which at least in the former appears to be directly descended

from the language of the Brahmanas. This kind of long prose-work becomes too elaborate to be preserved or got up by rote. The compilers now hit at the other extreme. They would be more concise and precise. References must be facilitated. Thus *brevity took the place of verbosity*. This is the origin of the literature of the *Sutras*. This strong mania for aphorism was too hard to be exorcised. The saying was rather proverbial that "an author rejoiceth in the economising of half a short vowel as much as in the birth of a son." Sometimes the sutras were so megre as to have a single syllable in it, illustrations of which Panini can furnish in abundance. Rules of interpretation were equally hard and the principle of *descent* and *cessation* of ideas was the chief standard of construction. Apart from any want of artistic excellence, they form an ingenious part of Indian literature, to which no other nation can offer a parallel. In a very short time, every department of science or religion began to have a sutra literature of its own, so that by the beginning of the Christian era the six schools of philosophy could refer each to its own sutra-writer. Then came the *vrittis*, which were the sutras themselves in a more expanded form and in some cases contained hints at the interpretation of the sutras. The language of both the sutras and the vrittis gave rise to differences of opinion among the learned, which difference necessitated commentaries expressive of the arguments in support of the author's interpretation. These were the *Bhashyas*. Strictly speaking, the evils, which the sutra literature was intented to remedy, once more appeared—evils in the sense of elaborateness. With some modifications at least, prose came forward for some time but retracted its steps back to its original form. The Bhashya literature therefore strongly resembles the Brahmanas but with a few variations. The tenets of the Bhashyas have

changed with the times. The aim of these is no longer to explain sacrificial symbols or ceremonial rituals, but to elucidate the intricate theories involved in the sutras of various departments of learning. Their language in general shows no resemblance to the language of the romances. Both of these are derived from the same sources. But the cause of such a wide difference in their nature is that the fancies of rhetoricians interfered with the style and composition of the romances most, but not with that of the Bhashyas. The tone of the latter is serious and scientific, whereas that of the former is levitous and recreative. So we can look to the Bhashyas for no poetic or rhetorical beauties. They are stuffed with substance and technicality; in other words they are *vastu-pradhana*. Now we come to the literary prose proper—the result of poetic art and rhetorical embellishment.

SECTION I.

The Romances.

The advent of **Harichandra** makes a transition in the history of Sanskrit prose. This transition is very transparent and the change is very distinct. A prose, purely wordly, not colored with the least religious tint, and a mode of narration which has now switched itself to a new rail, *viz.* the romantic —these are the work of Harichandra.

Of Harichandra himself, only his name has survived to us. But the Oriental Manuscripts' Library of the Madras Museum has a Champukavya by the name of *Jivandhara-champu*, professing to be the work of one Harichandra. That it is a Jain work appears both from the name of the author and the subject of the plot. No doubt the language is natural and

smooth-running and deserves to be classed among the works of the earlier centuries. But there are two objections in the way of assigning this work to Bhattara Harichandra. First, Bana refers to the *Gadya* of Harichandra and from the nature of the reference, he seems obviously to mean a purely prose composition, which must have fallen a victim to the hand of time. Again the sixth century A. D. is not known to have had any Champu-compositions which are only of a later growth. Neither the introduction nor the colophon favours the undisputed assignment of the authorship to our Harichandra.

But as to the nature of his composition, we have the reliable testimony of the hand of Bana. In his prefatory note to the Harshacharita, two lines appear highly eulogistic of our author :

पदबन्धोज्ज्वलो हारी कृतवर्णक्रमस्थितिः ।
भट्टारहरिचन्द्रस्य गद्यबन्धो विभाव्यते ॥

"The excellent prose-work of Harichandra stands supreme, luminous with its jingling arrangement of words and preserving the rigid rules of rhetoricians in composition." This unfigurative rendering of the above stanza gives us some clue as to the characteristics of Harichandra's composition. His style is highly artificial and the arrangement of his words is in rigid keeping with the rules of poetics. He revelled in the figures of sound and alliteration is what pleased him most. With all his defects he commands our greatest respect. We are not to judge a poet of a remote age from our own stand-point and again the poet is not to be taken by himself. The obstacles in the way of Harichandra's success were really insurmountable. He was striking a new route in the field of literature—a route which was never welcomed, if not abhorred by the Hindu taste.

The Hindu genius is, as we already remarked, alien to prose. It is in its essence poetical. Again whatever prose there had already been before him was purely religious, not a whit secular, so that Harichandra's contemporaries had already imbibed a prejudice against prose being used in ordinary romances. In fact they knew nothing of romances at all. The principle of the days of the French Revolution, "Whatever is, is right" was by them in a sense literally understood. Besides the already existing works gained for themselves a respect more through their age than through their desert. Everything new was spurned as bad and whatever was old was welcomed with respect. It is only this state of things that necessitated Kalidasa's remark :

"पुराणमित्येव न साधु सर्वं नचापि काव्यं नवमित्यवद्यम् ।"

Lastly, there was not a standard of good Sanskrit prose to be followed nor were there any rules of rhetoricians as to prose-composition in Harichandra's time to be safely relied upon. The requisites of good prose had to be gathered by comparison and imagination from the poetical works extant. In fact, poetry had to be transcribed in prose and new distinguishing features had to be accorded to a novel prose-composition. Thus, Harichandra was passing through an ordeal which might either bring him forward or leave him to rack and ruin in the field of letters. Surely, his trial was highly hazardous. He tried and he succeeded. But, note his success was beyond comparison relatively to the circumstances of his age. That we know so little of this inaugurator of Sanskrit romance is a sad tale to tell. A passing remark of Bana has given us room for so much inference and comment. Whatever might have been with Harichandra, his successors in the field have left us their masterpieces, which afford us some foundation to build a biographical superstructure upon.

Modern research has warranted safe, the position of **Dandin**, as the first of a series of prose-writers, whose writings have more or less completely come down to our times. Tradition affirms the contemporary existence of Dandin and Bhoja Deva of Dhar, of the tenth century renown. The Dasakumara-charita, a prose romance of Dandin's authorship describes both the political and social condition of India at a period anterior to the Muhamadan conquest and no mention is made of them but as merchants or navigators. But the manners delineated are unmixedly Hindu and the political divisions of Central India are with undisturbed perfection preserved—which data warrant the assignment of an earlier date. The fact, that the last of the stories of the Charita relates to a prince, said to be a member of Bhoja's race—implying of course the anterior existence of that prince—impares the strength of tradition—which carries the ingenuity too far

Further data:

(i) Keilhorn points out that in Kavyadarsa II. 51, Dandin seems to criticise part of Vamana's rule. Bhamaha in the place of Vamana would be a correct statement.

(ii) Mr. Lewis Rice has brought to light an inscription from Belgola, in which a verse from Dandin in praise of a Jain writer Sri Vardhana deva is quoted and the date given is Saka 1050 (1128 A.D.). Perhaps this Dandin is a different writer.

(iii) Most reliable of all, is an Alankara work in Kanarese, Kaviraja-vijayam, ascribed to Amogha-varsha, which shows that it waswritten about the end of the 8th century and alludes to Dandin's Kavyadarsa.

(iv) Tradition ascribes three works to Dandin : Of these the Dasakumaracharita and Kavyadarsa are well-

known. The third work has been discovered to be the Chandovichiti. This work having been referred to by Subandhu छन्दोविचितिरिव मालिनीसनाथा, Dandin must have been Subhandhu's predecessor.

Apart from these wide differences of views, Dandin's masterly style is not compatible with a late age in the history of Sanskrit romance. The subjects of the story are those taken from domestic life and command our attention as pictures of Hindu society at the beginnings of the Muhamadan conquest. The heroes are characterised by a hardy and enterprising spirit, by persevering devotion to their friends and by tender attachment to the objects of their devotion.

The style is that of an elaborate description which gives it the general name of a Kavya. The poetical elevation is not however uniformly sustained, although the language is almost throughout easily intelligible as well as elegant. Indeed, passages occur in which from the use of compound words of unusual length, from the complicated grammatical structure and from a protraction and suspension of the governing term, the perspecuity of language is slightly obscured. Yet the work, as a whole, can occasion no great embarrassment to a practised scholar, while it affords him a useful example of classical prose-composition. Besides, the romance of Dandin furnishes in some of its peculiarities a favourable opportunity for the study of grammatical forms. The author affects the use of derivative forms and presents a greater number of causal and desiderative inflections. Tradition however has not accounted for the absolute absence of any of the intensive or frequentative tenses. But such fancies as the absolute exclusion of certain words or grammatical forms are not unknown to Sanskrit

literature especially in this period—a period at which an elaborate style of artificial writing had already taken firm roots and supplanted the simpler and more elegant models, finished by the school of Kalidasa and Sudraka.

Subandhu illustrates the expressive power of the Sanskrit language. His incessant aim is "so to choose and dispose his diction as to render it susceptible of a diversity of interpretation. Such an attempt on its face demonstrates the vast amount of his learning and the inexhaustible store of his vocabulary. The terms in which he introduces himself to his readers are noteworthy :—

सरस्वतीदत्तवरप्रसादश्चक्रे सुबन्धुस्सुजनैकबन्धुः ।
प्रत्यक्षरश्लेषमयप्रबन्धविन्यासवैदग्ध्यनिधिर्निबन्धम् ॥

Here he particularly directs the reader's attention to the most observable traits of his performance, *viz.* 'his dexterity in framing discourse made of equivoques in every syllable."

Nothing definite regarding the age of Subandhu has rewarded past researches. With some confidence we may rely on two limits—first the reign of Vikramaditya of Ujjain and second that of Harsha Siladitya II of Kanouj. As to the first internal evidence from the Vasavadatta gives us some clue where the poet, while regretting the splendour of the great King's rule, satirises the degeneracy of his successors. The other landmark is from the prefatory verses to the Harshacharita of Bana ! The determination of the exact age of King Vikramaditya has been subject to a great diversity of views, so that the nearest amount of exactness is that he lived somewhere between the 1st century B. C. and the 6th century A. D. A

space of seven centuries can afford us not the least preciseness. As to Bana himself, we shall see, he can safely be assigned to the second half of the seventh century A. D. The quotation from the Harsha-charita probably shows that Subandhu was almost fresh in the memory of Bana, when he penned those eulogistic lines. The author of the Raghava-Pandaviya, whose surname *Kaviraja* 'the prince of poets' alone has come down to us, speaks of Subandhu as Bana's predecessor. Again when Subandhu writes: बृहत्कथालंबैरिव सालभञ्जिकानिवहैः । he in a fair way facilitates our research. Regarding the Brihatkatha and the reality of its existence, we may adduce the respectable testimony of Dandin : भूतभाषामयीं प्राहुरद्भु-तार्थां बृहत्कथां । (Kavyadarsa 1. 38.) From these data, the age of Subandhu can be safely estimated at about 1200 years.

In his **Vasavadatta**, Subandhu's sole aim was to illustrate certain powers of the sacred tongue. In his opinion, the choice of an intelligent plot was altogether a matter of secondary import. The story of Vasavadatta had a sort of romantic popularity in that period. Subandhu famed for his mythological lore and imagery was not slow to choose the more tantalizing bait and he made this story a vehicle for the execution of his purpose.

Misdirected as was his ingenuity, in his own field his position was unique. The attempts of later writers to vie with him in the matter of paranomasia cannot be said to have been attended with success. All nature and all art is familiar to him but in the expression everything is squeezed to minister to his puerile ambition. There is not one mythological incident to which he has not alluded, not one word whose are signifi-

cance he has not understood, not one style of prose-writing which he has not inaugurated and lastly not one mode of narration which he has not invented. Whatever may be the refined developments of later prose-writers, none of these can lay claim to an original style of composition. Subandhu may be said to have given a well-set form to prose-romances. "What with the comprehensive range of his hagiology," says Dr. Hall " his familiarity with the bye-paths of elder days, his matchless command of sanskrit vocabulary and his mastery over the anamolies of its grammar, he is indeed not seldom an enigma to his scholiasts."

Hall's criticism. It is a matter of regret to note that this masterpiece of Subandhu should have occasioned a criticism of the learned doctor: " Natural scenery, though boundless in variety is to the Hindu an object of impassive incuriosity and unconcern. Herein Subandhu offers no exception to his countymen as a race in every age and low indeed must be that type of humanity to which that imputation can fairly be brought home." This remark passed in a fit of pre-prejudiced contempt cannot find internal evidence to back it up. The judgment clearly lacks demonstrative scrutiny. The inherent prejudice the learned doctor entertained against punsters had better been a little more curtailed in its expression. He does not seem to have grasped Subandhu's position in the field of literature. The course of nature cannot be gone against. Sanskrit knew not of anything like a romance till a few years before Subandhu's time. A beginner cannot be perfect. Nor does his work display a lack of fanciful imagery or descriptive luxuriance. This is a point which must necessarily exact a compassionate review from any critic—which our doctor does not seem to have recognised.

Again he writes "A single characteristic more of our romance remains for animadversion......the indelicacy which tinges it throughout, as it tinges, in some degree nearly the complete compass of Hindu poetic letters, apology for which is out of question." The doctor is alone in discerning this unpardonable weakness in Hindu literature. This literary weakness, if it can be called so, is not peculiar to India but is only shared by her in common with all the civilized world. The *belle letters* of Greece and Italy afford new few parallels to this manner of literary composition, as do the modern languages of Europe, the ground work of which has been constructed on the refined tongues of the classical civilization. "What is natural, cannot be vicious," says Prof. Wilson "and that mind which is only safe in ignorance or which is only defended by decorum possesses but a very feeble defence and a very impotent security." Besides, the learned critic judges a period long gone by, on the standard of his own circle. Manners are changing and so do our ideas of decorum, decency and delicacy. Subandhu's ideas of delicacy emanated from surroundings altogether alien to the doctor's. The loves of Cupid and Psyche form the subject of no few poems in the English literature and there has not been an age which has not appreciated the sentiment of love more than anything else. "To avoid immodesty is simply a timid conventionalism." This charge of indelicacy brought against Subandhu's composition and the deductions drawn therefrom with the generalisations extended to the whole Indian literature are unfounded and cannot stand the test of sober criticism.

Subandhu's successor as a romance-writer was Bana. He was one of those mediæval writers of Sanskrit poetry who introduced a revolution in that art by practically asserting the

principle that versification is only a superfluous ornament of poetry and real poetry may be written in prose as well as in verse.

The difficulties which attended our determination of the approximate date of Subandhu are not so hopelessly insurmountable here. Bana's Harshacharita is a historical work, which gives us a tolerably authentic account of his life as well as of his patron Harsha-Vardhana of Kanyakubja. The Chinese traveller Hiouen-Thsang gives an account of Harsha's reign and a description of his court, as found during his visit thither on the occasion of some Buddhist festival. The name Holichafatana has been rendered by M. Stanislas Julien into the Sanskrit Harshavardhana. The account of Harsha's reign as given in the Chinese work closely concurs with the story of Harsha's life as described in Bana's Harsha charita. The date of Harsha being settled, that of Bana is of course determined. The date of the pilgrim's travel according to Chinese chronology is from 629 to 645 A. D. and Harsha, says the traveller, had already reigned thirty years and his death was ten year later, so that the period of Harsha's reign would occupy forty years from 610 to 650 A. D. Bana may therefore be safely assigned to the *first half of the seventh century*.

Bana was born of Chitrabhanu and Rajadevi in the village of Prithukuta on the banks of the Sona river. He lost his mother when young and was brought up under the care of his father. When he was fourteen his father died. By this time he had acquired, a fair knowledge of Sanskrit.

Bana and the family to which he belonged were devotees of Siva. With the death of Chitrabhanu, his life changed. Left

an orphan with sufficient means, he grew disobedient and obstinate. He gathered together a mob of companions, whose proficiency and qualification were heterogenious in their nature, and planned travel. His wreckless spirit brought to him infamy, the consequence of which was he could not have been the favourite of King Harsha but for the recommendation of the King's brother Krishna. He repented for past conduct and thenceforth led a perfectly calm and righteous life. In time, the King's favour waxed high and he grew to be the royal friend and confidant. So he speaks of the patronage he received, in laudable terms : स्वल्पैरेवचाहोभिर्हि: परमप्रीतेन राज्ञा प्रसादजन्मनो मानस्य प्रभावस्य च परां कोटिमानीयत नरेन्द्रेण।

Bana's muse was lying dormant for some time owing to the pangs of care and poverty. Harsha's favour roused it. He had already gathered much material from observation and experience during his tours and during his life at the royal court of his great patron. His thought struck upon prose and his devotion to the king gave him a theme. Harsha-charita was the result. He feels his success himself and now it is that he recognises his real merits and capabilities in the field of letters. His literary ambition heightens. He would this time try another work that could procure him everlasting fame. The result of this redoubled vigour was Kadambari which remains to-day an admirable monument of literary art.

Bana's prose has heen subjected to a good deal of criticism at the hands of both European and Indian reviewers. The artificial character of his writings has been exposed to the severe remarks of western scholars. Prof. Weber in an article contributed to the magazine of the German Oriental Society in 1853 writes "Bana's prose is an Indian wood, where all progress is rendered impossible by the undergrowth, until

the traveller cuts out a path for himself and where even then he has to reckon with malicious wild beasts in the shape of unknown words that affright him." The professor is severe indeed. His picture of Bana's poetry is a little overdrawn. No doubt the defect ought to be admitted : the conscious search for double-meaning obscure words and the outrageous overloading of single words with long epithets must to a great extent mar the beauty of even the best production of poetic art. Dharmadasa in his Vidagdhamukha-mandana thus speaks of our poet

Among the other merits of our author, may be mentioned his skill in the constructive art, as seen from his ingeniously arranged plot and its consistent development. The whole narration is managed with a masterly hand, notwithstanding the extremely difficult nature of the story. The ingenious interlacing of the double story of Kadambari and Mahasveta is a sufficient illustration of the poet's excellence in the handling of his plot. In the matter of characterisation, he is consistent throughout. The magnanimity of Tarapida, the natural kindness of Vilasavati, the statesmanly foresight of Sukanasa and the faithful affection of Patralekha are highly touching and the delineation is extremely lifelike. Again his keen observation of the commonplace sides of human life is well seen from his descriptions of palaces and cities as well as hermitages and forests. " Both in his direct description of natural objects and his poetic imagination, Bana's words breathe a freshness of vigour, that bespeak a warm and sincere admiration of the profusion of nature, which the Indian scenery offers to a poetic mind. And in this respect he has very few equals even among oriental poets." Scenes of overwhelming passion intervenes sorrow with irresistible love and austere penances are depicted

with power and with a powerful command of language. Bana's characters are generally carried by the vicissitudes of fortunes or by streaming torrents of feeling. The style of composition, for the rest, is ornate but redundant, learned but extravagant, charming but laboured. Often the same verbose sentence with strings of tautological epithets and with a profusion of similes runs through several pages.

When dealing with narratives of human interest, Bana's genius has its most realistic effect. "He is a mental anatomist." He dissects the thoughts and feelings natural to human beings. The delicate shades of grief, fear, joy and courage, he describes with admirable exactness. He has, above all, a fine power to express the inexpressible—the bewildering effects of sudden tidings, the vague doubts and fancies of the distressed, the natural consequences of disappointed affection.

"To a fault common with most writers of his time," says Dr. Peterson "must be added a defect of constructive art, which arises indeed from a device that is one of the commonplaces of sanskrit composition, but which our author has exaggerated to the serious injury of the verisimilitude and artistic effort of his work." Postulating that Bana has given us in the Kadambari a complicated plot, does this necessarily show a defect in the constructive art? Kadambari is a work of art, and as such none but an artist could understand it aright. The attractive pictures of Kadambari and Mahasveta drawn by the renowned artist Ravivarma confirm this view.

With the revival of Sanskrit letters came also the youth of prose and this which set in with Subandhu attained its blooming fulness in Bana. He gave to prose its proper shape and

color. He fitted it for every purpose of use and magnificence. The subject that Bana's contemporaries handled was Love and the allied tender passions. The Love of Bana's theme is not "fancy's hot fire" nor "the suppliance and perfume of a minute." On the other hand, it is something natural, inborn and latent. The love of Bana, in short, is akin to the Divine Love of Wordsworth's Laodamia :

> "He spake of love, such love as spirits feel
> In worlds whose course equable and pure."

Vadibhasimha was an ascetic of the Digambara Jaina sect, pupil of the Sage Pushpasena. His real name was Odeya-deva. "He puts down his interlocutary antagonists, as the lion does the elephant." Hence his present name. His tutor is the sole object of worship to him, "whose greatness transforms fools into geniuses." His native region seems to have been the southern districts of the Madras Presidency, as his name indicates it. Some of the Tinnevelly sects have such appellations. The preface to the Harshacharita forms the external evidence for the conclusion that Vadibhasimha lived later than Bana. The similarity of thought and expression between two sets of general advice to the royal princes in two indeed different works, the Gadyachintamani and the Kadambari, combined with the close resemblances in the story-construction gives us a standard to discover their relative times. Again on hearing the false news of Bhoja's death, Kalidasa is traditionally known to have sung अद्य धारा निराधारा निरालम्बा सरस्वती These words seem to be a very slight modification of our poet's lines—which were occasioned in the talk of the mob—on the untimely decease of King Satyandhara through the bad policy of Kashtangara. King Bhoja flourished in the

eleventh century. Probably Vadibhasimha lived *about the 10th century A. D.*

His **Gadyachintamani** describes the story of Jivandhara. Obviously, it is a novel with the Jain puranas for it source. The plot keeps close pace with that of the Kadambari. Vadibhasimha is a true follower of Bana as regards style and language, so that in some places it is impossible even for a keen observer to discover points of differentiation. The language is smooth-running, the string of sentences worth hearing, the expression free-flowing and the trick of construction all-transcending. The central point of his tenets lies herein; "Virtue has its own reward; vice ever faileth."

Dhanapala was born in the Gotra of Kasyapa. Born of Sarvadeva, he was the brother of Sobhana. Alienated in sympathetic feeling from his family on account of some domestic displeasure, he had the good fortune of a tour through the universities of India, wherefrom he grew well-versed in many of the standard arts. Thereafter he was reconciled to his brother and in the durbar of King Bhoja he was pronounced the foremost of the learned of his day. He was a Jain by religion and his salutation conforms to it. His **Tilakamanjari** is safely assigned to the *first half of the eleventh century* A. D. The occasion for its composition, he himself describes :—

निश्शेषवाङ्मयविदोऽपि जिनागमोक्ताः
श्रोतुं कथास्समुपजातकुतूहलस्य ।
तस्यावदातचरितस्य विनोदहेतोः
राज्ञस्स्फुटाद्भुतरसा रचिता कथेयं ॥

Tilakamanjari is obviously the heroine and the work culminates in her union with Samaraketu in marriage. The whole story follows the Kadambari in many of its details. Evidently this latter work was on the author's desk to refer to for the construction of the plot itself. Not one occasion of note in the Kadambari escapes a corresponding parallel in our poet's work. However we must be disappointed to find here the same voluntary flow of expression of Bana. The whole tone seems half-forced and half-ungenuine. If the characteristics of Dhanapala's style are to be sketched, we must only more or less repeat what we already said of Bana. His *Rishabha-panchasika* and *Paiyalachchi* are written in prakrit, the former being a collection of fables and the latter a *Desi* lexicon.

SECTION II.

The Champukavyas.

The artificial epics are pure verse and the romances are pure prose. A class of compositions intermediate between the two was of later growth and these were the *Champus* or mixed works of prose and verse. Thus runs the definition : गद्यपद्यमयं काव्यं चम्पूरित्यभिधीयते. So far as research can take us back, these compositions could not have arisen before the era of the great King Harsha of Ujjain.

The earliest extant work of this class is the **Nalachampu of Trivakrama.** He alludes to Bana (I. 14) and is himself quoted in the Sarasvati-Kanthabharana. Therefore Trivikrama most probably belongs to the latter half of the eighth or the former of the ninth century. His father was Devaditya, a court-pandit of some ruler of the day. During his father's absence, an adversary advanced to the royal presence and

challenged competition. Then, contemplated with sincere devotion by Trivikrama, Sarasvati blessed him with the poetic muse until the arrival of his father and thus he was capable of overcoming his opponent. The father returned when the story of Nala was half-done, in which incomplete state the work to-day stands. That Trivikrama's work had a supremacy in the field of letters is shown by the four commentaries on it, which have now come down to us. As for the language, it is not appreciable from our view of the standard of prose. It presents all the frailties of the style of Subandhu. The same intricate punnings, the very same long compounds, the self-same strained constructions are all everywhere abundant. His vocabulary however is more learned and more extensive than that of Bana. The *Madalasa-champu* is likewise referred to his authorship.

Next comes the **Ramayana-champu of King Bhoja** of Dhar. He was a great patron of letters and himself highly learned. He is reputed to be the author of the Sarasvati-Kanthabharanam. From an inscription grant dated Samvat 1078 (A. D. 1022) it appears he reigned from 943-1022. His work has had a high renown ever since its composition, which is proved by the reverence with which it is looked upon by scholars of our own times. Tradition says that the chapters up to the Sundara-kanda were composed by a Kalidasa of his court and the rest by himself. It is doubted if the work had really anything to do with the royal author. Perhaps his name was purchased. Bhoja's poetry is even more apprecia-ted than his prose ; for in the latter the vices described of later sanskrit prose had already begun to make their mark. Yet the language is very harmonious and musical. His choice of words is especially noteworthy. Tradition, unsupported however

by sober history, assigns to Bhoja and Kalidasa, the combined authorship of the work. This view is based on Bhallala's Bhojaprabanda, a very uncertain story to rely upon. The style is very refined and the ideas are equally so. As a learned pandit once remarked, the language of Bhoja has a royal tinge in it, whereas that of other poets shows a touch of dependence.

Next to Bhoja **Harichandra** deserves our consideration. The question of the identity of this author with the other, whom we have spoken of as the inaugurator of sanskrit romance, has been discussed there. As to the exact age of his work, the *Jivandharachampu*, no information has reached us either from internal evidence or from external reference. The text itself is still in the manuscript-form so that its very existence is obscure. With all this, it must occupy our attention because of its language. An examination of the ideas and their expression must necessarily assign the work not to a very late period of the history of the Champu Kavyas. From the introductory verses, the author appears to be a Jain. The book consists of eleven Lambhas and every one of these has its own beauties of composition. The music of wording is what is most notable. The forms of words are not highly learned and the text is easily understandable.

Venkatadhvari was the son of Raghunatha. He was born in the village of Arsanapale near Kanchi. He was a follower of the Ramanuja school of philosophy. He was well-versed in logic, philosophy and the commentaries. He was a contemporary of Nilakantha and must therefore have flourished *in the 17th century.* He was the chief pandit at the court of Pralayakaveri. His *Laxmisahasram* is a poem of 1000 stanzas in praise of Laxmi, who is said to have been pleased with his

work and restored to him his lost eyes. His *Visvagunadarsam* or 'the Mirror of the World' is a Champukavya describing the manners and customs of the different parts of the Indian world. Two celestials Visvavasu and Krisanu are supposed to take a bird's-eye view of things, the former appreciating the merits and the latter ever censorious and pessimistic. The work is intended to expose the faults and prejudices of the various sects then concurrent in the various countries. His *Hastigirichampu* describes the marriage of Laxmi and Narayana. His style is learned and versatile. At times he revels in the verbal figures but still lines are not rare that are noted for their suggestive and musical form. His descriptions embrace all nature and all art. His mythological lore is equally inexhaustible. His work has been the standard of study among the earlier records of sanskrit learning. His *Uttara-champu* relates the story of Sita's banishment and the birth of Kusa and Lava.

Abhinava-Kalidasa has left to us only his *nom-de-plume*. He has wantonly avoided all mention of his real name or lineage. The Parimala-Kalidasa of the court of Bhoja could not have been identical. On the face of it, the *Champu-Bhagavatham* cannot be placed earlier than the 14th century In six *vilasas*, it recapitulates the story of Krishna, as related in the *purana*. The poetry does not point to any close similarity with the language of Kalidasa's. The prose passages are devoid of all lucidity or simplicity. The verse however is varied and the composition learned. The benedictions are in praise of Siva and Gauri.

This species of composition became the most prominent especially during the centuries after 1400 A. D. Their number

is numerous but many of them are not yet accessible. Not one of these reverts to the original beauty of the early days of the chronicle of sanskirt prose.

Krishnarya Kavi-Gandabherunda was patronised by Ramakrishnaraj, a wealthy Zamindar of Vanaparti. He wrote his *Rāmesvaravijaya* somewhere about 1840 A. D. It commands no respect from us, but that it is in the sanskrit tongue. The mischief of the growing tendency of *prosaic* evils is herein complete and it cannot become worse. Long compounds without any suggestive sense, jingling alliteration without artistic elegance and an unintelligible interlacing of confused figures—these are everywhere conspicuous. A quotation must make a stronger impression :

"तत्र चैं प्रणम्य विनताखिलजनताधिकघनतापहघनतादृशमोदावहपादांबुजयुगलगदगणितसिततातिमुक्तामणियुक्ताद्भुतहंसकसमहंसकयुगमातिकृतिपतिमतिततातिभृतिजंघालसुजंघालयुगम्........नारायणामिह्यमस्तौषीत्"

CHAPTER IX.

FABLES AND FAIRY TALES.

The controversy that was carried on towards the end of the last century between the advocates of the Eastern and the Northern origin of European fiction had reference especially to a particular class of creations—to those of chivalric romance—to the marvellous exploits magnified out of the traditional achievements wrought by the companion Knights of the Round Table or the Paladins of France. With all confidence, a different class of fiction, that, at a later age, found accession into

European literature can be traced back to oriental sources. Sir William Jones, in his discourse on the Hindus, observes that they are said to have laid claim to three inventions—the game of chess, the decimal scale of notation and the mode of instructing by apologues. The universal prevalence among the Hindus of the doctrine of metempsychosis was calculated to recommend to their belief the notion that beasts and birds could reason and converse and consequently the plan of such dialogues originated with them. Despite the questionability of the evidence in favour of the originality of the Hindus in the art of instruction by apologues, the purposes to which the Hindus directed it are peculiarly their own. Fable is with them practical ethics—the science of *niti* or polity. Each fable is calculated to illustrate some reflection on worldly vicissitudes or some precept for human conduct.

The oldest Aryan fables, dating from centuries before Christ, have, according to Dr. Rhys Davids, travelled to different parts of Europe and have assumed various modern shapes. Otto Keller maintains the Indian origin of fables common to India and Greece and suggests an ancient, Assyrian channel of communication. The substantial link of connection with the west is the literature of the beast-fable. The *Mahavaipulya* sutras of the Buddhistic literature appear to contain the earliest sanskrit legends in prose styled *Ityuktha* and *Vyakarana* (corresponding to the Itihasa-puranas in the Brahmanas) or legends in the form of parables styled *avadana* exhibiting many elements of the later animal fables and further tales of presages and wonders *adbhuta-dharma* and lastly special instruction in and discussion of definite topics, denominated *upadesa* and *nidana*. All these tales, partly mythical, partly didactic and partly allegorical, reappear in a more archaic dress in the Brahmanas

and the Aranyakas as well as in the prose legends interspersed in the Mahabharata which, in the general tenor of their language present many salient points of similarity with the style of the Buddhistic Sutras. Most conspicuous among these are the *Jataka* tales, which treat of the prior births of Buddha and the Bodhisattwas. It is to this period we have to refer the earliest beginnings of sanskrit fiction. The didactic and sententious note, highly characteristic of the classical Sanskrit literature is specially pronounced in these fables, where "the abundant introduction of ethical reflections and proverbial philosophy is characteristic. The apologue with its moral is peculiarly subject to this method of treatment."

The extant collections of these tales afford us sufficient grounds for any conclusions regarding them. Their distinguishing feature lies in the mode of their narration and arrangement. The heroes of the main story in successive turns relate various tales in support of their own views, which process goes on unimpeded to the very end of the story so that the whole series forms a set of Chinese boxes.

The Panchatantra. The monumental edifice of this mode of narration has come down to us in the Panchatantra. These fables were probably current in India for many centuries in the shape of vernacular folk-lore before they were arranged in their present form in easy and literary sanskrit prose. "If not actually a Buddhist work," says Mac Donnel "the Panchatantra must be derived from Buddhistic sources."

The internal evidence from the extant text confirms the conjecture. Apologues and fables were current among the Buddhists from time immemorial. Such Tales—Jataka

tales—are accepted to have had their existence as early as the council of Vaisali B.C. 380 and it was seven centuries later they were embodied in the Sutta-pitaka.

The present recension however is in its essence a production of the brahmins who naturally attempted to efface all traces of their hostile religion in a work which, amusive and instructive as it was, was more to create anti-brahminical feelings among them, if left untouched. The whole text was translated into Persian in the reign of Nausharvan (531-572 A.D.) and it is a safe conclusion therefore that the sanskrit compilation was complete at the latest in the sixth century A. D.

Originally intended as a manual of general instruction in the principles of conduct, it has maintained, for a period of more than thirteen centuries, its reputation, as the fountain-head of the elements of the Ethical Science. The work is divided into five parts which division obviously accounts for the name of the work itself. As to the nature of the work, it is " pervaded by a quaint humour which transfers to the animal kingdom all sorts of human action." Irony and satire are abundantly the means of exposing the various human vices and frailties and hyperbole, which, according to European critics, is what mars the charm of oriental literature, interferes least with the practical instruction herein set forth. The language is easy and flowing and does not exhibit the vices of laboured artificiality that crept into the prose-composition of later days. The natural and unstrained expression of thoughts, as illustrated by the contemporary writings in the Mrit-chakatika, is seen throughout the work and the style suits the object of the work best. The style is in a word to the

point and the book affords very few instances of long and tedious descriptions.

The **Hitopadesa**—also a store of fables like the Panchatantra—is one of the most popular works in India and an easy introduction to the study of Sanskirt. The frame-work of the two books is of the same construction. The Hitopadesa is divided into four books. It was probably drawn up at Palibothra on the Ganges by its reputed author Vishnusarman. What has been said of the Indian fable literature and its characteristics needs not a re-statement.

The **Vetalapanchavimsati** is a group of 25 stories. When, at the bidding of an ascetic, King Vikrama of Ujjain was silently carrying a corpse to the grave-yard, a vetala, that had possessed it, tempted him to conversation twenty-five times by relating to him twenty-five tales. The king, at the end of every story, had to answer some problem suggested by the plot. The composition has remarkable cleverness in it and it has been for nearly a century an object of curious study to many foreign readers.

The **Simhasana-dvatrimsika** is a collection of fairy tales, thirty-two in number, related by thirty-two images of Vikrama's throne dug up near Dhar, the capital of King Bhoja. Obviously the collection must date from the tenth century A. D.

The **Brihatkatha-manjari** of Kshemendra—about one-third as long as the Katha-sarit-sagara—is obviously an abridgment of Gunadhya's original.

The **Kathasaritsagara** is a long poetical collection of nearly 22000 stanzas, divided into 124 *tarangas* and eighteen

lambhas. The third and the fourth books are solely devoted to the story of Udayana. The author *Somadeva* was a Kashmerian contemporary of Kalhana and must have written his work between 1063 and 1082 A. D. The collection in an epitome of Gunadhyas's Brihatkatha, composed to console Suryavati on the death of her grandson Harsha. In the preface, the tales are told by Katyayana, the minister of Chandragupta. They were carried away by a demon and repeated in the Paisachi tongue, in which tongue Gunadhya's work was supposed to have been written. It abounds in beautiful descriptions and contains a version of the original sources of the plots of the Ratnavali and Vasavadatta. This poem not only includes in it many of the Buddhist *Jatakas*, but a complete recast of the first three books of the Panchatantra.

Srivara was born in A. D. 1414. He was pupil of the chronographer Jonaraja. He is often confused with Sridhara. His *Kathakautuka* is almost a sanskrit version of *Abdul Rahman's Yusab Jubkha*. It is a series of stories like the Katha-sarit-sagara and is written in verse. One of these describes the invasion of Rajaputana by Allauddin.

Something remains to be said of the prose of the **Buddhist legends.** A collection of them, called by Prof. Burnouf the *Divyavadana*, was discovered in Nepal by B. H. Hodgson and to us it forms a treasure of useful Buddhistic information. Written in fairly correct sanskrit, it gives us a specimen of an unaffected composition, yet not without a naked pathos of its own. Faults there are of grammatical construction, but they are found only in the speeches. These may either be ascribed to the ignorance of the transcribers or may be said to have had a purpose—to give a truistic appearance to the character of the

fables. Many of these legends belong to the Vinaya Pitaka, as they "continually bring in some reference to a point of discipline." As regards the time of their composition, we can only say this, that words not found in the lexicons of Amarasimha and Hemachandra occur in them.

CHAPTER X.

RHETORIC, METRIC AND DRAMATURGY.

The fundamental principle, on which all rhetorical precepts are based and the highest tribunal in human nature to which all sanskrit rhetoricians appeal, when involved in poetic intricacies, is the peculiar intellectual pleasure enjoyed by erudite men of heart (*sahridaya-hridaya-ahlada*). When the merit of a poet's work is in question, the standard of determination will be how far it conduces to that peculiar intellectual pleasure *Chamatkara*. Thus this latter word expresses the whole philosophy of Sanskrit Rhetoric.

The comman name generally given of works on Sanskrit Rhetoric is *Alankara Sastra*. Obviously the title implies the bare treatment of the figures of speech. But the subject-matter of rhetorical works comprises a wider sphere. This apparent inconsistency is reconciled by saying that '*Alankara*' means '*beauty*.' We have recourse to *Bhava-vyutpatti*. Therefore Alankara-sastra signifies works which treat of things that go to constitute the beauty or blemish of a Kavya. Kavya literature is the chief arena for the display of the genius of sanskrit rhetoricians. The relation between poetry and rhetoric is the same as exists between language and grammar.

Rhetorical works in Sanskrit begin to investigate the true nature of a Kavya and ascertain the logically correct definition thereof. A discussion follows, of the different attributes of poetry. Kavyas are classified, with a few observations on the importance of literary works. A minute investigation is made into the powers or *sakti* of words. The different *rasas* are defined in relation to psychological emotions and their development is traced. Dramas are then classified and the dramatic technicalities are defined and illustrated. With a few remarks on style and language, a treatment of Figures of Speech forms the concluding chapter.

The Science of Poetics has had an independent place in the Sanskrit literature. In bulk or importance, it stands on a level with any indigenous science of India. The postulate is conceded that nothing that man discovers fails to have a reference in the Vedas. It has been the earnest endeavour of every orthodox Hindu to trace all developments of later science or philosophy to Vedic beginnings. Regarding the science of rhetoric, the Vedic literature shows some initial traces of the later topics that have contributed to expand its sphere beyond all reason and proportion. Instances of similes,[1] metaphors[2] and hyperboles[3] are not rare in these Vedic writings. The essence of all poetic art is thus summed up :

"एकश्शब्दः सम्यग्ज्ञातः सुप्रयुक्तः स्वर्गे लोके कामधुक् भवति ।"

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(1) "सूर्यस्येव वक्षयो ज्योतिरेषां समुद्रस्येव महीमा गभीरः ।
वातस्येव प्रजवो नान्येन स्तोमो वसिष्ठा अन्येतवे वः ॥

(2) "तमेकनेमिं त्रिवृतं षोडशान्तं शतार्धारं विंशतिप्रत्पराभिः ।
अष्टकैष्षड्भिर्विश्वरूपैकपाशं त्रिमार्गभेदं द्विनिमित्तैकमोहम् ॥

(3) "द्वा सुपर्णा सयुजा सखाया समानं वृक्षं परिषस्वजाते ।
तयोरन्यः पिप्पलं स्वाद्वत्ति अनश्नन्नन्यो अभिचाकशीति ॥

Likewise the ultimate end of all poetic sentiment is laid down :

"ब्रह्मैव रसः । रसो वै सः ।"

Next to the Vedas, the *Agni Purana* deals with the subject of poetics in a greater detail. Poetry is classified into prose and verse and prose compositions are further sub-divided into five groups. The construction of dramas is described and the technical terms of dramaturgy are defined. The 338th chapter refers to the sentiment of *Sringara* as the source of all the other *rasas*. Poetic license and poetic convention are recognised.[1] The *Vrittis* and the *ritis* are referred to by name and nature. Many of the figures of speech, of word and of sense are differentiated.[2] The merits and faults of poetry are enumerated.

Thus we see the whole compass of the modern science of poetics was well-known during the Puranic age, many centuries before the Christian era.

The Science of Dramaturgy, through referred to in the Agni Purana, is generally acknowledged to have emanated from the sage Bharata. However the earliest writers on dramatic composition are known to be *Silalin* and *Krisasva.*

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(1) सिद्धसैद्धान्तिकानां च कवीनां चाविवादतः ।
यः प्रसिद्ध्यति सामान्य इत्यसौ समयो मतः ॥
अपारे काव्यसंसारे कविरेव प्रजापतिः ।
यथास्मै रोचते विश्वं तथेदं परिवर्तते ॥

(2) शब्दार्थयोरलङ्कारो द्वावलङ्कुरुते समम् ।
स्वरूपमथ सादृश्यं मुत्प्रेक्षातिशयावपि ।
विभावना विरोधश्च हेतुश्च सममष्टधा ॥

Their works had perished and Bharata himself probably knew not of them. The strong testimony of Panini at any rate makes certain their existence. This testimony is otherwise corroborated, for a comparative study of the literature of Indian sciences suggests the existence of a body of sutra works preceding metrical canons. The very perfection of Bharata's Natyasastra clearly indicates that it was the result of a long cultivation in the theory and practice of the drama. The precise age of *Bharata* cannot be determined. He must have flourished far early in the centuries B. C., as he is styled a Muni and translated to a mythical pedestal in almost the earliest works on drama and rhetoric. In our opinion his *Natyasastra* could not have been composed later than the sixth century B. C. Tradition assigns thirty-six chapters to the work, of which chapters 18-20 and 34 alone have survived to us. Therein are treated the ten species of *rupaka*, the five *sandhis*, the four *vrittis* and the *dramatis personae*. The thoroughgoing nature of his treatment clearly shows that the science must have reached its perfection when Bharata undertook to compose his treatise.

The Science of Metric forms a part of the Vedic Exegesis. The Rik hymns mention some names which later on appear as the techincal designations of certain metres. The Brahmanas also contain frequent allusions to them. In the Aranyakas and the Upanishads, chapters are devoted to the study of Chhandas. The first systematic arrangement of the archaic metres is referable to the Sutra period. The concluding chapters of the *Sakala Pratisakhya* deal with metre and are written in the usual style of mixed slokas. Regarding the Sama Veda, the *Nidana Sutra* in ten chapters explains the nature of the verse and indexes the different known metric

varieties. It is not till we come to **Pingala** that we have some definite information about the purely literary verse. His name is quoted in the Parisishtas, the last skirts of the sutra literature. His *Chhandas-sutra* can only be roughly assigned to that class of composition. It is written in a diffuse style, quite contrary to the essence of the principle of sutra-construction. "It is of very recent origin," says Weber "and we have a proof of this, for instance, in the fact that in the manner peculiar to the Indians, it expresses numbers by words and feet by letters and that it treats of the highly elaborated metres, which are only found in modern poetry.......The part dealing with Vedic metres may perhaps be more ancient. The teachers quoted in it bear in part comparatively ancient names. These are: Kraushtuki, Jandin, Yaska, Saitava, Rata and Mandavya." What is the correct definition of "*very recent origin*"? Obviously the professor shields his view under the cover of a vague expression, which in itself may be taken to include a space perhaps longer than a thousand years. If Pingala deals with elaborated metres, it is not impossible they were known to him from the existing literature. The epics show not a few instances of complex metres and likewise the Puranic compilations. The fact, that dramatic composition attained perfection in the first centuries of the Christian era if not earlier, shows clear proof of an advance in the nature of metric device. If a work describes archaic and modern subjects, this cannot of itself divide the work into two portions, written at two widely different times. Upon the present data, the Sutras of Pingala could not have been written later than the days of the Mahabhashya. It is a matter of congratulation that Weber himself has of late modified his views: "We must carry back the date of its composition to a period about simultaneous with the close of the Vedic Sutra literature or the commencement

of the astronomical and algebraical literature." The *Mrita-sanjivini* of Halayudha is one of the best extant commentaries.

Sanskrit prosody is not surpassed by any other language in variety of device or harmoniousness of rhythm. It recognises two classes of versification, the one based on syllabic division and the other on metric breves or instants—the *gana* and *matra vrittams*.

Tradition assigns to **Bhamaha** the first place among the regular rhetorical writers. He is known to have been a native of Kashmir. Bhattodbhata commmented on Bhamaha's work and refers to him as one of the earliest of rhetoricians. So does Abhinavagupta. From an examination of his extant work, it is plain that the science of rhetoric was still in its infancy and its first form was given to it by Bhamaha. In our opinion he must have flourished somewhere about the *fifth century* A. D.

Dandin has been assigned to about the sixth century A. D. His *Kavyadarsa* consists of three parts. It deals with literary styles, with the ornaments of language, with the graces, faults and puzzles of composition. It is almost the first complete work on rhetoric, of which the later works are but elaborations.

Vamana in his *Kavyalankara-sutra-vritti* gives unmistakable proof of his knowledge of the Venisamhara. "He has in two places at least found fault with its grammar and in one case has drawn on his book for the illustration of the figure called Sahokti." Abhinavagupta cites the authority of Vamana and he according to his own statement lived in the last quarter of the 10th century. The chronicle of Kashmir makes Vamana a pandit of the court of King Jayapida (779-819 A. D.). All

this evidence must combine to assign him to about the *end of the eighth century*. All theories connecting him with the grammarian of the same name are untenable. His work on rhetoric has been the standard book of science and his views are referred to as an authority. His style bears strong traces of the Sutra language and the very few glosses that are added do not display any verbosity of composition.

Anandavardhana was a native of Kashmir during the reign of Avantivarman (855-884 A.D). His *Dhvanyaloka* is considered a commentary on the Dhvanikarika of unknown authorship. It was he, that first elaborated the doctrine of suggestion and discussed in detail the relationship between ध्वनि and the other figures of speech. His language is learned but clear and simple. It echoes the strength of his argument and certainly deserves to clothe the thoughts of one who was newly laying the foundation of a novel science. His style is a little challenging and the conclusions put on an air of success. His *Devisataka* is a monument of lyrical success.

Rudrata Satananda was the son of Bhatta Vamuka. He is quoted by Bhoja and Pratiharenduraja as a standard author. Therefore his *Kavyalankara* may safely be assigned to the latter half of *the ninth century*. A commentary on it by *Namisadhu* is dated 1069 A. D. The mode keeps close correspondence with the Kavyadarsa. The work is divided into sixteen chapters and written in the Arya metre. The style is fluent and the verse melodious. The identity of Rudrata with *Rudra*, the author of the *Sringaratilaka*, is disputed.

Abhinavagupta was a staunch saivite of Kashmir. The ending '*gupta*' shows a twice-born origin. He is regarded with

much reverence by later writers, so much so he is styled '*Acharyabhinavaguptapadah.*' His *Brihat-pratyabhigna-vimarsini* gives the date of its composition in terms of the Laukika era. He must be assigned *to the first half of the 10th century*. He was a poet, logician and philosopher. His *Lochana* is a commentary on the Dhvanyaloka and forms a treasury of rhetorical learning. His *Natyalochana* forms an explanatory gloss on Bharata's work; likewise his *Abhinavabharati*. His *Bhairava-stotra* is a collection of vigorous verses in praise of Maha-Bhairava and the *Mahopadesavimsati* is a series of sententious moral maxims. Everywhere he displays his fullness of knowledge. His arguments are succinct and logical. His discussions are complete and thoroughgoing. His criticisms though domineering are never dishonoring.

Dhananjaya was the son of Vishnu. He lived at Dhara in the court of King Munja, (974-993 A. D.) the uncle of Bhoja. His *Dasarupa* must therefore be assigned to the latter half of the *tenth century*. It is almost the first complete treatise on the science of Indian dramaturgy. The theory has been already developed and is presented in systematic order. Though the work is a decided advance on the rules of Bharata, the reverence to the sage is too great to be infringed or criticised. His brother was *Dhanika*, whose *Avaloka*, a commentary on the *Dasarupa* and *Kavyanirnaya*, an independent treatise on rhetoric, have come down to us.

Ajitasenayatisvara was a Jain priest of Chamundaraja, who flourished about the end of *the tenth century A. D.* He was the minister of the Ganga King Rajamalla. He was the teacher of the Kanarese poet Nagavarma and head of the mutt at Bankipore. He wrote his *Sringaramanjari* at the request of King

Kamiraya of the lunar race. It consists of 128 stanzas and is divided into three chapters.

King Bhoja of Dhar flourished at the end of the tenth century A. D. His *Sarasvati-Kanthabharana* is a long treatise on poetics. It has five chapters and deals with the faults and merits of poetry, with the figures of speech and with the theory of emotions. It has been a landmark in Sanskrit literary history, as it quotes many earlier authors, so that it is more an anthology than a rhetorical treatise. The style is everywhere very graceful and the treatment very instructive.

Mammata, the son of Jayyata, was a brahmin of Kashmir. Tradition makes him the brother of Kaiyata, the grammarian and Uvvata, the Vedic interpreter. He is referred to by Madhava in his Sarvadarsana-sangraha (composed about 1335 A. D.). He succeeded Bhoja of Dhar in the field of poetic work. The earliest commentary on Mammata by Manikyachandra is dated 1159 A. D. His *Kavyaprakasa* must therefore have been written about the latter half of the *eleventh century*. His father Jayyata was the joint author with Vamana of the Kasikavritti. The times of Mammata were marked by a general outburst of learning and literature in Kashmir. He studied his rhetoric under Ruyyaka. His work has been popular and always the standard authority on the subject. The style is generally lucid and clear, but at times gives rise to contradictory interpretations. The language is strictly argumentative and verbosity is not to Mammata's taste.

Kshemendra's Auchitya-vichara-charcha is a work on rhetorical style. His enunciations of canons are regularly followed by discussions. His quotations are at times gleaned

out from various authors whom he notes down by name. He invariably gives his references when quoting illustrations of the breach or observance of poetic precepts. He has no respect for individual fame or dignity and he deals out praise or censure as a true critic. He illustrates the two sides of the canon by different verses from the same work of his own. Everywhere he shows himself an impressive writer. His *Suvritti-tilaka* is a work on metric and has three chapters—*vrittavachya*, *gunadoshadarsanam* and *vrittaviniyoga*. In the concluding chapter the author quotes various poets of olden times as excelling in one or other metres, *e.g.* Kalidasa in *Mandakranta* and Rajasekhara in *Sardula-vikridita*.

Rajanaka Ruyyaka attempts at a classification of the figures of speech, grouping them under convenient heads. His *Alankara-Sarvasva* shows a clear advance in the nature of its prose. He was a Kashmirian and tutor to the poet Mankha of Jayasimha's court. Jayadratha, the author of the poem *Haracharitachintamani*, wrote the *Vimarsini* a commentary on Ruyyaka's work about 1200 A. D. It is probable threfore that Ruyyaka flourished in the first half of *the 12th century*. Besides he was a predecessor of Mammata who criticises some of Ruyyaka's views. Ruyyaka does not consciously restrict the length of expressions and the sentences smack more of the merit of the Bhashyas. His criticisms are not cut and dry and the dogmatic temper, an observable trait of the Indian rhetoricans, is not prominent in Ruyyaka. His only other extant work is the lyric *Sahridayariti*.

Vidyanatha lived at Warangal under the patronage of King Prataparudradeva (1268-1319 A. D.). The *Pratapa-rudra-yasobhushana* is a work on poetics with illustrations

in praise of the poet's patron. The chief peculiarity of the work is that unlike similar works this has interlaced into it a drama in five acts, celebrating the king's exploits from which he exemplifies the technicalities of Sanskirt dramaturgy. This mode is impressive and instructive, though as a dramatic production the piece has no high value. His work breathes the pirit of an age which prognosticated the rapid decay of ramatic literature. In his hands the saying '*poeta nascitur on fit*' has been rather inverted.

Visvanatha Kaviraja lived about A. D. 1365. He is both a poet and rhetorician. His *Sahitya-darpana* is an exhaustive treatise in ten chapters on the plan of the Kavyaprakasa. His mode of expression is instructive and impressive. The prose is more elaborate and the thoughts put on an air of refinement. His *Kavyaprakasa-darpana* is a runnig commentary on Mammata's work. The authorship of these works must have followed the composition of his *natikas*, *Chandrakala* and *Prabhavati*.

Simhabhupala was a contemporary of King Pratapa-rudra *of the fourteenth century A. D.* He refers to Bhoja and Sarngadeva. His *Rasarnava-sudhakara* is a short treatise on poetics and treats of the nature of heroes, the different sentiments and lastly of the construction of dramas. Many of the verses are identical with those of the Dasarupa. Either this is the work of the scribe or the author himself, who was fully conscious of Dhananjaya's merits. Mallinatha invariably quotes from this work in all his commentaries. His only other work is the *Sangitharatnákara-vyakhya*.

Govinda was born in the Ravikara race in Mithila. His fifth ancestor Narasimha lived about the fifteenth century and

so probably he himself flourished about a century later. He is prior to Kamalakara who composed his Nirnayasindhu in 1612 A.D. His *Kavyapradipa* is a commentary on the Kavyaprakasa. Though following the lines of Mammata, it is generally studied as an independent treatise on rhetoric and has its own bulk and extent.

Vidyabhushana was a native of Bengal. He was a disciple of the great reformer Chaitanya, who was born in 1484 A. D. The opening verse of his *Sahitya-kaumudi*—a short rhetorical treatise with graceful and simple elucidations —corroborates the tradition of the conversion of King Prataparudra Gajapati by Chaitanya.

Kedarabhatta was the son of Pavyeka of the race of Kasyapa. He was well-versed in vedic learning and saivite philosophy. His *Vritta-ratnakara* was composed about the beginning of *the 15th century*. It has six chapters and deals with the two classes of metres, their origin and modifications. A commentary on it by **Narayana** was composed in A. D. 1556. He was a Kausika, son of Ramesvara. He was a native of Benares and had his literary career there.

Gangananda was patronised by Lunakarna, King of Bikaneer (1506-1527 A. D.) His *Karnabhushanam* has five chapters and traces the development of the several *rasas* or sentiments through all the stages or bhavas.

Prabhakara was the son of Bhatta Madhava. He studied under his brother Visvanatha. He was a poet and rhetorician. He wrote his *Rasapradipa* and *Rasalankara-rahasya*, on the nature and development of *rasas* about Sam. 1640 (A. D. 1584).

Appayya Dikshit was born at Adayappalam near Kanchi in the *Kanya* month of Kali 4654 (A. D. 1554). He was a Bharadvaja of the Apatamba School. He was learned in all the arts. In the earlier part of his life he lived at Vellore under the pratronage of Chinna Bomma Bhupala. Later on he was invited to the court of the Penukonda ruler Venkatadeva (1586-1613 A. D.). In the last year of his life he visited the Pandya country to settle some sectarian disputes. He was the tutor in Vedanta to the famous Bhottoji Dikshit. In his lineage he belonged to a race of sacrificial priests. He was the first scholar that placed the Srikantha school of philosophy on a firm basis. He was best in the *Purva* and *Uttaramimamsas.* His eleven sons were well-read and alive at his death. His end was at Chidambaram in 1626 A. D., at the age of seventy-two. He is the reputed author of 104 works, the range of which covers poetry, dialectics and philosophy. He is the best commentator on Vedanta Desika's works. His *Chitra-mimamsa* is a disquisition on the nature of Alankaras and runs to the end of *Atisayokti.* His *Vritti-vartikam* is a treatise on the three modes of signification. His *Kuvalayananda* is a standard work on the subject of the figures of speech. It is designed as a commentary on *Jayadeva's Chandraloka* (about the 10th century). The illustrations are not his own but the treatise is elementary for beginners and scientific for longer commentaries. His *Vairagya-sataka* forms the last work of his life and reflects best the *santa* sentiment.

Devesvara was the son of Vagbhata, once a Malva prime-minister. His *Kavikalpalata* is a short work on the poetic art written about the middle of *the sixteenth century*. He also composed the *Chandrakalapa*, to which he refers his readers for detail.

Jagannadha was the son of Perubhatta and Laxmi. He was a Tailinga of the Vejinada race. He studied poetry and rhetoric under his father and logic and grammar at Benares. He was entertained at the court of Emperor Shah Jehan (1628-1658) and Prince Dara was his favourite patron. Tradition says he fell in love with a lady of the Muslim court and had secret intrigues with her. She was dead and her separation caused his retirement. He spent the rest of his life at Muttra, where he died in 1674 A. D. The *Rasagangadhara* is his master-piece in rhetoric. It stops with the *Uttaralankara* probably in imitation of the Chitramimamsa of Appayyadikshit, whose views he critically exposed in his *Chitramimamsa-khandana*. He is always selfconscious and independent. There is a sort of dignity and learning in his argument and explanation. His language however is not simple but necessitates an acquaintance with dialectics. His lyrical works have found a place in a previous chapter.

Visvesvara has been dealt with as the author of dramas and lyric poems. He is no less a rhetorician. His *Kavindra-Karnabharana* illustrates many tricks of poetry and is planned after the manner of the Vidagdha-mukhamandana. Among other works are the *Alankara-kaustubha*, *Alankara-muktavali and Kavyatilakam.*

Kalyana was the son of Subrahmanya of the family of Pervi. His *Alankara-Kaustubha* was written in honor of God Padmanabha and of King Balarama Varma of Travancore (1798-1810 A. D.). A work of the same name was written by Kavikarnapura about A. D. 1545.

Gangadasa gives no clue to his history. He appears, on oral information, to have flourished in the latter half of the

18th century. He says he was the author of a poem *Achyuta-charita* of sixteen cantos, a *Sataka* in praise of Krishna and a short lyrical panegyric on Surya. His *Chhandomanjari* has six *stabakas* and deals with the metres in practical use. The *prastara* or scientific portion is not dealt with, as it is according to him mere '*Kautuka or curiosity.*'

Kalidasa is the name given to the author of a short piece on metric **Srutabodha** by name. It consists of 43 stanzas, every one of which illustrates a kind of verse and the beauty is that the definition is put in the form of a verse of the same name.

*APPENDIX A.

GRAMMAR.

Sanskrit grammar had its origin in the study of Vedic interpretation. The Vedic texts became obscure in the course of time and their elucidation necessitated etymological investigation. The various injunctions laid down for the correct pronunciation and recitation of the Vedic hymns were first embodied in the *Pratisakhya-sutras.* These attach themselves to the Samhitas and give "the general regulations as to the nature of the sounds employed, the euphonic rules observed, the accent and its modifications, the modulation of the voice, &c." Peculiar phonetic changes are pointed out. "It is in *Yaska's* work, the *Nirukti*, that we find the first general notions of grammar. Starting from the phonetic rules, the observance of which the Pratisakhya-sutras had already established with so much minuteness—but only for each of the Veda-samhitas—advance was no doubt gradually made, in the first place, to a general view of the subject of phonetics, and thence to the remaining portions of the domain of language. Inflection, derivation and composition were recognised and distinguished, and manifold reflections were made upon the modifications thereby occasioned in the meaning of the root. If Yaska himself must be considered as belonging only to the last stages of the Vedic period, Panini must have lived at the very close of it, or even at the beginning of the next period. Advance from the

* The appendices have been added to suit the corriculum of the B.A. Degree Examination of the Madras University.

simple designation of grammatical words by means of terms corresponding to them in sense, which we find in Yaska, to the algebraic symbols of Panini, implies a great amount of study in the interval." Panini himself mentions the names of some authorities on grammar, such as Sakatayana, Apisali, Sakalya. Of these the first has of late been accessible, but it is thought to be a later redaction or adaptation.

Panini's grammar "is distinguished above all similar works of other countries partly by its thoroughly exhaustive investigation of the roots of the language and the formation of words; partly by its sharp precision of expression which indicates with an enigmatical succinctness whether forms come under the same or different rules."

His **Ashtadhyayi** consists of nearly 4000 aphorisms, divided into eight chapters. "Panini had before him a list of irregularly formed words, which survives, in a somewhat modified form, as the *Unadi sutras*. There are also two appendixes to which Panini refers: one is the *Dhatupatha*, containing some 2000 roots, of which only about 800 have been found in Sanskrit literature, and from which about fifty vedic verbs have been omitted; the second is the *Ganapatha*, to which certain rules apply."

Bohtlingk places Panini in *the 4th century* B. C. (1) on the authority of the Rajatarangini which says that the Mahabhashya was introduced into Kashmir under King Abhimanyu; (2) on the posteriority of Amarasimha who is supposed to have flourished about the 1st century B. C.; and (3) on the evidence of the Kathasaritsagara, which makes Panini, a disciple of Varsha, a contemporary of King Nanda.

Weber contends that neither of the works relied upon as history by Bohtlingk are trustworthy in reference to a period fifteen centuries earlier and the dates they assign generally rest upon a confusion of Northern and Southern Buddhistic eras. He places Panini later than the invasion of Alexander, inasmuch as Panini mentions '*yavanani*,' implying necessarily an acquaintance with the Greek alphabet.

Goldstucker carries him back to the anti-Buddhistic times, about the *seventh century* B. C. For,

(i) Panini states that the names of old Kalpa works are formed with the affix *in*. The Manava Kalpa Sutras are from his point of view old Kalpa works.

(ii) The Vajasaneyi Pratisakhya is posterior to Panini, because (*a*) in Panini there is organism and life ; in the pratisakhya there is mechanism and death ; (*b*) in many rules Katyayana becomes unintelligible unless they be judged in their intimate connection with Panini's grammar.

(iii) Yaska preceded Panini, because Panini teaches the formation of Yaska and heads a *gana* with it ; he employs '*upasarga*' without defining it, while Yaska enters fully into the notion expressed by it.

(iv) The word *Atharvanika* can only mean the office of the Atharvan priest at the sacrifice. Though the word Angiras is used, the compound Atharvangiras is never met with. On the whole there is no valid ground for Panini's knowledge of the Atharvan.

Bhandarkar adds the accompanying reasons :—

(i) While in the Sutras of Panini there are a great many names of places in the Punjab and Afganistan,

there is none of any of South India. But Katyayana inserts such names, showing his knowledge of those parts. The Asoka inscriptions at the latest show an acquaintance with many places in the Dekhan.

(ii) Sankala mentioned by Panini has been identified with Sangala, destroyed by Alexandar. Panini must have known the city in a flourishing condition.

(iii) Patanjali's date being fixed at B. C. 150, Panini's must be considerably earlier at least by four or five centuries.

Katyayana was the author of the **Vartikas** on Panini's aphorisms. The wide modification in the language and its signification must allow a space of at least two centuries after Panini. Hioeun Thsang mentions that '*Ledocteur Kid to Yavana*' lived in the Punjab in 240 B.C., which Bohtlingk takes as referring to Katyayana. Prof. Weber reasons that this is against the tradition of the Kathasaritsagara which makes him Panini's contemporary and identifies him with the minister of Nanda about B. C. 350. For the present, the view of Goldstucker based on the changes* in grammar and language assigns him to about the middle of *the fourth century B. C.*

Patanjali was born at Gonarda, a tract of country in Kashmir and his mother's name was Gonika. He is often referred to as *Gonardiya* and *Gonika-putra*. Regarding his age, Dr. Bhandarkar assigns him to about B. C. 150 and his arguments are thus summed up :

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* Vide History of the Sanskrit language in the introduction.

(i) The passage—"अरुणद्यवनस्साकेतं। अरुणद्यवनो माध्यमिकान्"—shows that Patanjali lived about the time when a Yavana besieged Saketa and Madhyamika. Perhaps the invasion of Oudh by Menander of B. C. 140 is alluded to.

(ii) The passage इह पुष्पमित्रं याजयामः shows that he lived during the reign of Pushpamitra. Two other passages in which the name of that monarch is mentioned corroborate this view.

(iii) The mention of the Mauryas and Chandragupta as having flourished before Patanjali's time is consistent with the above references. Patanjali must have lived at a time sufficiently close to the Mauryas in order that they might become the subject of his thought.

(iv) The Rajatarangini says that the Mahabhashya was introduced into Kashmir by a grammarian Chandracharya during the reign of Abhimanyu about A. D. 40. Patanjali might have composed his work two centuries earlier.

(v) Hiouen Thsang says that Katyayana lived 300 years after Buddha's death, *i.e.*, about 240 B. C. If Katyayana lived about the 3rd century, Patanjali might have flourished a century later.

Bhartrihari of the 7th century A. D. speaks of Patanjali as a *Tirthadarsin*, *i.e.*, "the seer of the saving truth," and his work as an *arshagrantha*. A book can become *arsha*, only when its real origin is entirely forgotten. For this state of things a space of nearly ten centuries is not inconsistent with the reverent manner in which he speaks of Patanjali's work.

The **Mahabhashya** is a running commentary on Panini's aphorisms and deals with 1713 of them. It is probable that Panini's work was from the beginning accompanied by a definite interpretation, whether oral or written, and that a considerable portion of the examples in the Bhashya must have come from this source. The work is in the form of lectures and the prose stands to-day as the chastest standard in all Sanskrit literature.

The later grammatical literature is based mainly on these three works which form the fountain-heads of a vast mass of composition. Mostly the later works are either compendia or commentaries. No new matter is added. The method and arrangement is changed to suit an easy understanding. Some of the important are named below:—

(i) The *Vakyapadiya* of Bhartrihari is in the form of Karikas and is based on Patanjali (about 650 A. D.).

(ii) The *Kasika* of the joint authorship of Vamana and Jayaditya is a commentary on Patanjali and according to I-Tsing was written between 630–650 A. D.

(iii) The *Kavirahasya* of Halayudha is a treatise on verbs and rhymes written in the 10th century.

(iv) The *Ganaratna-Mahodadhi* of Vardhamana was composed about 1140 A. D.

(v) The *Haima-vyakarana* and the *Sabdanusasana* of Hemachandra were composed about the middle of the 12th century.

(vi) The *Dhatuvritti*, a gloss on the Dhatupatha, was the work of Madhava of the 14th century.

(vii) The *Prakriya-Kaumudi* arranges Panini's grammar more systematically and was compiled by Ramachandra in the 15th century.

(viii) The *Siddhanta-Kaumudi* a commentary on Panini, the *Vaiyakarana-bhushana*, a work on Sabda-sakti the *Prauhamanorama*, a commentary thereon, and the *Sabda-Kaustubha*, a gloss on Patanjali are the works of Bhattoji-Dikshit during the 17th century.

(ix) The *Paribhashendusekhara*, a treatise on deductive laws of interpretation the *Navahnika-vivarana*, the *Sabdendusekhara*, a commentary on the Manorama and the *Manjusha*, a treatise on the powers of words, were written by Nagesa Bhatta, in the 18th century.

(x) The *Bhushana-sara* is a commentary on the work of Bhattoji by *Konda-bhatta* written about the beginning of the 19th century.

(xi) The *Tattva-bodhini* is a commentary of the Siddhanta Kaumudi by Jnanendra Saraswati of the 18th century.

APPENDIX B.

LEXICOGRAPHY.

The origin of lexicons was of course connected with the study of the Vedic hymns. "The investigations into the literal sense of the prayers only began when this sense had gradually become somewhat obscure and as this could not be the case among the priests, who were familiar with it, so soon as amongst the rest of the people, the language of the latter may at that time have undergone considerable modifications. The first step taken to render the prayers intelligible was to make a collection of synonyms, which, by virtue of their very arrangement, explained themselves and of specially obsolete words, of which separate interpretations were then given orally. These collected words were called, from their being 'ranked' 'strung together,' *Nigranthu* corrupted into *Nighantu*, and those occupied with them *Naighantukas*. One work of this kind has been actually preserved to us. It is in five books, of which the three first contain synonyms; the fourth, a list of specially difficult Vedic words; and the fifth, a classification of the various divine personages who figure in the Veda." The *Nigama Parisishta* of the White Yajus is of a similar character. The later Sanskrit dictionaries or *Kosas* are collections of rare words, mostly synonyms. They are all versified; alphabetical order is entirely absent in the synonyms and only incipient in the homonymous class.

1. The **Namalinganusasanam of Amarasimha** is supposed to be the earliest extant work of this class. It is composed in three *kandas* with further sub-division into *vargas*. Amarasimha is mentioned as one of the nine gems of

Vikrama's Court. He was a Jain by religion and must have flourished about the first century of the Christian era. Prof. Weber assigns a far later date. "For in the first place, it enumerates the signs of the zodiac, which were unquestionably borrowed by the Hindus from the Greeks; and, according to Letronne's investigations, the completion of the zodiac did not take place among the Greeks themselves before the first century A. D.; so that, of course, it cannot have become known to the Hindus till one or several centuries later. Again, in the Amarakosa, the lunar mansions are enumerated in their new order, the fixing of which was due to the fresh life infused into Indian astronomy under Greek influence, the exact date being uncertain, but hardly earlier than A. D. 400. Lastly, the word *Dinara* occurs here, which as pointed out by Prinsep, is simply the Latin *Denarius*. The use of the term *Tantra* in the sense of 'text-book' may perhaps also be cited in this connection, as it belongs only to a definite period, which is probably the fifth or sixth century, the Hindus who emigrated to Java having taken the word with them in this sense. All this, of course, yields us no direct date." The existence of a Chinese translation dated the second century A. D. has of late been discovered and so this work could not have been composed later than the first century of the Christian era.

2. The *Abhidhana-ratnamala* was composed on the plan of the Amarakosa by Halayudha about the beginning of the ninth century A. D. under the patronage of the Rashtrakuta king Krishna.

3. The *Trikanda-sesha* was the work of Purushottama about the eleventh century A. D. under King Dhritisimha.

4. The *Vaijayanti* was written by Yadavaprakasa, a Vaishnavite monk of the eleventh century A. D. near Kanchi.

5. The *Mankha-kosa* was composed about 1150 A. D. probably by the poet Mankha.

6. The *Medini-kosa* has a more modern alphabetical arrangement and was composed by Medinikara, son of Pranakara in the thirteenth century A. D.

7. The *Visvaprakasa* of Visva is very valuable for a medical student, composed in Saka 1133.

8. The *Nanartha-ratnamala* is a lexicon of homonymous words by *Irugapadandadhinatha*, written under King Harihara of the fourteenth century.

9. The *Desinamamala* of Hemachandra is a lexicon of *prakrit* terms written in the twelfth century.

10. The *Sabdakalpadruma and the Brihadabhidhana* are modern encyclopædiac lexicons of the nineteenth century.

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ERRATA.

PAGE.	LINE.	FOR.	READ.
5	4	From	Form
	23	aryau	aryan
13	4	chosing	choosing
15	7	of the Puranas	of the Vedas
22	18	both has	each has
31	11	subject	subject-matter
43	22	parvams	parvans
45	30	falicity	felicity
48	20	king's	kings
47	16	*omit* a	
54	26	युमिभ्रमणे	युमिश्रणे
56	13	fecility	facility
59	8	scence	science
64	27	work	works
65	41	Prayag	at Prayag
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129	29	appears	appear
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144	26	हा	द्य
141	11	*omit* ह्रि	
142	11	*read* वाणी बाणो बभूवोति	

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